

SOME NEO-ASSYRIAN PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATORS

BY

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ABSTRACT

Since there is no previous study of the precise rôle and function of Neo-Assyrian administrators this thesis first sets the background by defining the Assyrian 'homeland' (*Kernland*) and the expansion of provinces outwards from it. It examines the terminology used in this context as well as the methods of controlling newly acquired territories and their annexation into the Neo-Assyrian provincial framework as reorganized by Tiglath-pileser III (Chapter I).

The office of provincial-governor, the *bēl-pāhete* and *šakin-māti*, is then examined in detail (Chapter II), as are those of the subordinate officials, the *rab-ālāni* and *šanû* (Chapter III). Full lists of all these officials, together with the place with which they were associated, are given in figures following each chapter as an aid to future research.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge the encouragement and help of my supervisor Professor D.J.Wiseman who has patiently seen this project through to completion. The arguments, interpretations and conclusions, including any errors are my own. In addition, I thank Mr J.D.Hawkins and Miss T.J. Firbank for their teaching and Mr J.N.Postgate and A.R. Millard for their special advice on chapter II. Throughout my research and writing I have owed much also to the friendship, kindness, advice and stimulus of Prof. J.E .Wansbrough, Dr. M.Geller, Dr. R.G.Evans, Sue Rollin and Diana Driscoll.

Finally, and most heartfelt, is the debt I owe to my wife Halimah M. Abdullah, whose patience during the years of absence from home in Iraq and whose financial support have alone made this work possible. Accordingly this thesis is dedicated to her and to my daughter Ishtar, who shared the long parting.

SOME NEO-ASSYRIAN PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATORS

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Abbreviations

- AB = E.Klauber, Assyrisches Beamtentum
 AbB = A.Ungnad, Altbabylonische Briefe
 ABC = A.K.Grayson, Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles
 ABL = R.F.Harper, Assyrian and Babylonian Letters
 Abp = M.Streck, Assurbanipal und die letzten Assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergang Niniveh's
 ABZ = R.Borger, Assyrisch-Babylonische Zeichenliste
 ADB = C.H.W.Johns, Assyrian Doomsday Book
 AfO = Archiv für Orientforschung
 AGS = J.A.Knudtzon, Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott
 AJSL = The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
 AKA = E.A.W.Budge and L.W.King, Annals of the Kings of Assyria
 ANET = J.B.Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament (3rd ed.)
 AnOr = Analecta Orientalia
 AnSt = Anatolian Studies
 AOFII = Altorientalische Forschungen
 AOMA = F.M.Labat, L'Armée et l'Organisation Militaire de l'Assyrie
 AOTU I-II = F.Schmidtke, Assarhaddon's Stadthalterschaft in Babylonien und seine Thronbesteigung in Assyrien 681 v.Chr.
 APN = K.L.Talqvist, Assyrian Personal Names
 ARAB = D.D.Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia
 ARI = A.K.Grayson, Assyrian Royal Inscriptions I-II
 ARM = Archives Royales de Mari
 ARU = J.Köhler, A.Ungnad, Assyrische Rechtsurkunden
 Asarh. = R.Borger, Die Inschriften Asarhaddon's Königs von Assyrien
 AT = D.J.Wiseman, The Alalakh Tablets
 BALAWAT = T.G.Pinches, The Bronze Ornaments of the Palace Gates of Balawat
 BASOR = Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research
 BBSt = L.W.King, Babylonian Boundary Stones and Memorial-Tablets in the British Museum
 BE = The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts
 Bi.Mes. = Bibliotheca Mesopotamica

- BIN = Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J.B.Nies
 Bi.Or. = Bibliotheca Orientalis
 BM = British Museum (Cuneiform Tablets etc. in the collection of the British Museum)
 CAD = The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
 CAH = The Cambridge Ancient History (III Pt.3 rev.)
 CT = Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
 DOTT = D.W.Thomas (ed.), Documents from Old Testament Times
 EAK = R.Borger, Einleitung in die Assyrischen Königsinschriften
 EP = C.Saporetti, Gli Eponimi Medio-assirici
 FNALD = J.N.Postgate, Fifty Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents
 GAG = W.von Soden, Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik
 GN = geographical name
 GPA = J.N.Postgate, The Governor's Palace Archive
 GTWB = H.W.F.Saggs, The Greatness That Was Babylon
 HA = A.Olmstead, History of Assyria
 HSS = Harvard Semitic Series
 HUCA = Hebrew Union College Annual

 IAK = E.F.Weidner, E.Ebeling, Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige
 IEJ = Israel Exploration Journal
 IM = Iraqi Museum
 JANES = Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University
 JAOAS = Journal of the American Oriental Society
 JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis
 JCS = Journal of Cuneiform Studies
 JESHO = Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
 JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies
 JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
 JSOR = Journal of the Society of Oriental Research
 JSS = Journal of Semitic Studies
 JTS = Journal of Theological Studies
 K = Kouyunjik (Tablets in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum)
 KAH I = L.Messerschmidt, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Historischen Inhalts I.
 KAH II = O.Schroeder, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Historischen Inhalts II

- KAJ = E.Ebeling, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Juristischen Inhalts
- KAR = E.Ebeling, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Religiösen Inhalts
- KAV = O.Schroeder, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Verschiedenen Inhalts
- KBO = Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy
- KUB = Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköy
- LAS = S.Parpola, Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal
- Layard = A.H.Layard, Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyria
- Lie, Sg. II = A.G.Lie, The Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria, Part I: The Annals
- Lyon, Sg. II = D.G.Lyon, Keilschrifttexte Sargons., Königs von Assyrien
- MA = Middle Assyrian
- MAOG = Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft
- MARV = F.Freydank, Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte I
- MB = Middle Babylonian
- MDDNA = B.Oded, Mass Deportation and Deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire
- MDOG = Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
- MDP = Mémoires de la Delegation en Perse
- MSL = Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexikon
- MTWA = H.W.F.Saggs, The Might That Was Assyria
- MVAG = Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft
- NA = Neo-Assyrian
- NARGD = J.N.Postgate, Neo-Assyrian Royal Grants and Documents
- NAT = S.Parpola, Neo-Assyrian Toponyms
- NB = Neo-Babylonian
- NBN = K.L.Tallqvist, Neubabylonisches Namenbuch
- ND = Nimrud Documents
- NL* = Nimrud Letters
- NWL = J.W.Kinnier-Wilson, The Nimrud Wine Lists
- OA = Old Assyrian
- OB = Old Babylonian
- obv. = obverse
- OECT = Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts
- OIP = Oriental Institute Publications
- OLZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung

- OMA = C.Saporetti, Onomastica Medio-Assira I,II
- Or = Orientalia (Rome 1920-1930, continued as Orientalia Nova Seria (=OrNS) 1932 ff)
- PBS = Publications of the Babylonian Section (University of Pennsylvania Museum)
- PEQ = Palestine Exploration Quarterly
- PN = Personal Name
- Provinz = E.Forrer, Die Provinzeinteilung des Assyrischen Reiches
- PRT = E.Klauber, Politisch-Religiöse Texte aus der Sargonidenzeit (Leipzig 1913)
- PSBA = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
- R = H.C.Rawlinson, The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia
- r = Reverse
- RA = Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie Orientale
- RCAE = L.Waterman, Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire I-IV
- RLA = Reallexikon der Assyriologie
- Rm = Rassam (prefix given to some text collections in the British Museum)
- RN = Royal Personal Name
- Sg.II,II = H.Winckler, Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons
- Sg.II,8 = F.Thureau-Dangin, Une Relation de la Huitième Campagne de Sargon
- Senn. = D.D.Luckenbill, The Annals of Sennacherib
- SKT = H.Winckler, Sammlung Keilschrifttexte II
- StBOT = Studien zu den Boghazköy-Texten
- Stele = W.Andrae, Die Stelenreihen in Assur
- STF = Ali Abou-Assaf, P.Bordreuil, A.R.Millard, La Statue de Tell Fekherye et son Inscription bilingue assyro-araméenne.
- TCAE = J.N.Postgate, Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire
- TCL = Textes Cuneiformes du Louvre
- Tn.I = E.Weidner, Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I und seiner Nachfolger
- Tp.III, I-II = P.Rost, Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-pileasers III
- TR* = Tell al Rimah
- UF = Ugarit Forschungen
- UHTNM = K.Kessler, Untersuchungen zur Historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens
- VAB = Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
- VS = Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin

- VAT = Tablet numbers allotted by the Vorderasiatischen Abteilung der Berliner Museen
- VT = Vetus Testamentum
- VTE = D.J.Wiseman, The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon
- WHJP = A.Malamat (ed.), The World History of the Jewish People IV-V (The Age of the Monarchies: Political History)
- WO = Die Welt des Orient
- WVDOG = Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
- YOS = Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts
- ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
- ZDPV = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
- ZVR = Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft (Stuttgart); XXXVI, A.Ungnad, Altbabylonische Briefe (off print) 214-353
- NL * see H.W.F.Saggs, 'The Nimrud Letters', 1952'
- I 1-11, Iraq XVII(1955) 21-56
- II 12-23, " " " 126-159
- III 24-38, " XVIII(1956) 40-56
- IV 39-48, " XX (1958) 182-212
- V 49-64 " XXI (1959) 158-179
- VI 65-70 " XXV (1963) 70-80
- VII 71-84 " XXVII (1965) 17-32
- VIII 85-95 " XXVIII (1966) 177-191
- TR* = Tell al Rimah Tablets 1965 (Numbers are not strictly consistent.)
- I 2001-2914, H.W.F.Saggs, Iraq XXX (1968) 154-174
- II 3001-3037, D.J.Wiseman, Iraq " " 175-205

INTRODUCTION

The choice of the subject of Neo-Assyrian provincial administrators followed the discovery that despite the long tradition in Ancient Mesopotamia of the rulers subdividing territory into manageable and partly autonomous local divisions — 'provinces' responsible to the central authority, no complete study of this practice exists, especially for the well documented Neo-Assyrian period between the ninth and sixth centuries B.C. I also chose it, as a native of Nineveh myself, since the subject is of obvious importance both for the local and wider understanding of Assyrian history and civilization.

Klauber⁽¹⁾ briefly discussed twelve Neo-Assyrian royal administrators and military governors, but referred only to selected occurrences of their titles. The only extensive study of the Assyrian provincial system itself is that of Forrer⁽²⁾, supplemented by various articles on special regions⁽³⁾. Since then, much new information has come to light, notably the texts from Kalah, Tell-Halaf and further letters from Nineveh (CT 53-54). The Assyrian royal correspondence, which was first published by Harper (ABL) and studied by Waterman⁽⁴⁾, as well as partially transliterated and translated by Pfeiffer⁽⁵⁾, was in need of re-examination and collation, as were the administrative texts copied by Johns (ADD;ADB) with their partial transliteration and translation by Kohler and Ungnad⁽⁶⁾. The Nimrud texts, well published in CTN I-II, have rarely needed correction, as have the royal inscriptions down to Assurnasirpal II, translated by Grayson⁽⁷⁾. Those of succeeding kings, except those of Esarhaddon⁽⁸⁾, have needed careful re-examination. This thesis has sought to excerpt and select from all categories of the related texts and literature.

The discussion is divided into three chapters.

I. The definition of the term for a 'province' and its development. The Neo-Assyrian administrative organisation within the 'homeland' and then beyond its borders. The answer is sought to why a province was established and how it was controlled afterwards.

II. A study of extant sources points to the fact that there were two primary provincial administrators during the Neo-Assyrian (NA) times. Both have a long history in Mesopotamia and both held considerable authority in Babylonia during the Middle-Babylonian and in Assyria in the Middle-Assyrian period. In NA their responsibilities had increased considerably when both were appointed directly by the king after a successful military campaign. These officials are the *hēl-pāhete* and the *šakin-māti*. Their offices and their interrelations are examined here.

III. A study of the subordinate officials in the provincial administration follows. The *rab-ālāni* and the *šanû* have been selected for extensive treatment because, i) they both played a considerable and well documented rôle in the NA administration and ii) ^{the}second title first appears in the NA period and may well reflect the re-organization of the provincial system at that time.

CHAPTER I

Development of the NA Provincial System

Introduction

The development of a system of 'provinces' - each under an official responsible to the main centre of power, was an old established practice in Mesopotamia, which arose from the expansion of the area to be administered beyond the effective control of a single authority.

Under the dynasty of Agade this means had been employed as far afield as Syria⁽⁹⁾. In UrIII days a local form of city-states or a single one of 'Sumer' was subdivided into twenty provinces, and each one supplied dues to the dominant city in the same way as did the conquered regions from as far as Assur and Susa⁽¹⁰⁾.

The functions of the governor were judicial, military, religious and administrative. He was concerned with the maintenance of order, the execution of public works, the collection of taxes, the promotion of commerce and the passing of information. These responsibilities remained essentially the same throughout Mesopotamian civilization.

Thus Marzal has traced the function of the governor in OB Mari⁽¹¹⁾, and other sources, mainly letters, indicate comparable practices at contemporary Tell-al-Rimah⁽¹²⁾ and Shemshara in Assyria⁽¹³⁾. Wiseman has pointed to a similar concept used in the Patriarchal period in Palestine⁽¹⁴⁾.

Brinkman has shown the system to be still in use in the MB period⁽¹⁵⁾. The first major study of the NA period with its numerous references to the ever-widening establishment of 'provinces' was that by Forrer⁽¹⁶⁾, to which later studies of specific areas have been added⁽¹⁷⁾.

1. The definition of 'province'

The word 'province' is the interpretation of the Akkadian *pīhatu*. This occurs in lexical texts as *NA.AM:NAM* : *NA.AM.MU*: *pī-ha-tū*⁽¹⁸⁾ and *NAM:pi-ha-tum*⁽¹⁹⁾. OB texts, including those from Mari, write it as *pihatu*⁽²⁰⁾. Goetze suggested therefore that the vowel *ā* is long (*pihātum*) and rarely *pahātu*⁽²¹⁾ and explained it as due to a double *t*, as written *pihāttim*⁽²²⁾. This is unlikely though, because the MA form of this word is usually written *pāhi/eti/e*⁽²³⁾ which confirms the length of the first vowel, with the genitive of the construct *bēl-pāhi/eti/e*. Also Goetze's suggestion of a final weak vowel marked as *y* or *w* is unconvincing because the root is a middle weak **pūh*⁽²⁴⁾, with the feminine ending (*a*)⁽²⁵⁾. Therefore **pāhatu*^(m) is the standard MA and NA form of the word for a province, but due to vowel harmony it became **pāhutu*^(m)⁽²⁶⁾.

It can be shown that the primary meaning of the OB term *pīhatu*^(m) is "Post, job, duty, liability, obligation", as well as "area of responsibility"⁽²⁷⁾. As 'post or job' in OB *pīhatu*^(m) it denotes a specific post which men held since 'their jobs are vacant' *awilū pihassunu irtaqt*⁽²⁸⁾, as in the common phrase 'to be in a job' *ina pīhatim nazazzum*⁽²⁹⁾ and *ana pīhata*^(m) *našarum* 'to keep a job'⁽³⁰⁾, and *pīhattušumu la nadiā* 'their posts are not to be abandoned'⁽³¹⁾. The holder of *pīhatu*^(m) who is responsible for some action is called *bēl pīhati*^(m) or simply *ša /šūt pīhatim*. He can be a public official⁽³²⁾, a person privately employed for a particular task⁽³³⁾, or a temporary administrator put in during the tenant's absence, e.g. *eqilšu ana bēl pīhattim nadin*, 'his field has been given to the person responsible'⁽³⁴⁾ (for it), (i.e. to the individual taking action). While *ana pīhatim...šakānum* denotes 'to deputise for a job'⁽³⁵⁾. The nature of the service or the type of obligation incurred is expressed by describing the land as *ina pīhatu* of PN⁽³⁶⁾ especially in the case of tenants on crown-lands. Otherwise *pīhatu* takes the object for which the *bēl-pīhatim* is responsible in the genitive case as in: *ina pīhat bitim*, or *pīhat kirim*⁽³⁷⁾.

Occasionally *pīhatu(m)* alone indicates that there is an obligation with responsibility to be met or one preventing other actions⁽³⁸⁾. In all these instances *pīhatu(m)* refers first to official duties or contractual obligations entered into, and secondly to a penalty incurred if an obligation is not fulfilled. Thus Hammurapi instructed Sin-iddinam to provide crews for certain vessels, adding that in case of failure to fulfil this duty: *pīhatum šī ina muhika iššakkan* 'the responsibility is placed on you'⁽³⁹⁾. So also *pīhat bitim ...ittanašī* 'the responsibility for the property..has been taken (lit. is continually carried)⁽⁴⁰⁾, and: *pīhatam ekallam īppal* 'he will pay what is the responsibility of the palace' (41). These texts also state the penalty to be paid for failure: *pīhassu īppal* 'he will pay what is his responsibility' (42). Here the reference is clearly to the payment of a penalty should the *bēl* of *pīhatu(m)* fail to fulfil the contract within the stipulated time⁽⁴³⁾. In one contract it is clearly stated that: (*šumma*) *pīhassu apālam (la i)-le²-* *imuāt* '(if) he is (not a)ble to fulfil his responsibility he shall die'⁽⁴⁴⁾.

During the MB period the word *pīhatu* is used to indicate a given geographical area⁽⁴⁵⁾. From the MA period onwards *pāhiti* or NA *pāhutu* (*NAM*) is always used to describe a 'province' normally associated with a city or town. It is always written ideographically *NAM* in the NA period, whether it indicated a 'province' or a 'provincial governor' *LÚ.NAM* because the NA scribe dropped *bēl* (*EN*) from the term *LÚ.EN.NAM* = ^{amēl} *bēl-pāhete* and simply wrote *LÚ.NAM* from the late 8th C. There is no direct indication why he did this, but it could be explained either by the fact that this provincial post was well known during this period and there was no need to state the whole title, or it might be that it was an abbreviated writing to save time and space, which is perhaps supported by the majority of occurrences being in legal transactions. Therefore the NA scribe seems to have continued his predecessor's method for writing 'province' rather than attempt to find a new term for it. This term *pāhutu* was also used for the 'provinces' constituting the Assyrian homeland, as well as for extraneous territories.

2. Subdivision of a province.

The Assyrian city depended on the products supplied by its surrounding area, which largely consisted of fields and orchards. At Nineveh and Kalhu special irrigation systems were devised to sustain these areas⁽⁴⁶⁾. Terms used during the NA period to describe these areas which had to be administered also were: *KUR* (*mātu*); *URU* (*āli*) . Other terms which have been said to denote a subdivision of a province within Assyria include:

i) *nagû*⁽⁴⁷⁾ appears to denote an^{unspecified} area which, from geographical considerations, constituted an administrative unit. *nagû* during the NA covered a district consisting of a number of towns and villages e.g. 430 *ālāni ša 7 nagē ša Ursa ...akšud* 'I conquered 430 villages/towns of seven districts of Ursa'⁽⁴⁸⁾, also 20 *ālāni ina nagē ša .. akšud* 'I conquered twenty villages/towns in the district of...'⁽⁴⁹⁾. It is likely that these districts would, however, have been under the jurisdiction of a single subordinate provincial administrator, such as the *rab-ālāni*⁽⁵⁰⁾.

ii) *qannu*⁽⁵¹⁾ was probably used for a smaller region than a *nagû* . Saggs⁽⁵²⁾ has supported Johns' suggestion that *qannu* denoted the region within the borders of a municipality of the district of which Harran was the capital⁽⁵³⁾. This may be confirmed by a similar reference to the *qannû* of *URU.ŠA*. *URU* , which Postgate translates as 'vicinity'⁽⁵⁴⁾. The administrative officials associated with *qannu* are the ^{amēl}*rab-ālāni*⁽⁵⁵⁾ and, in a single reference the *bēl-pāhete*⁽⁵⁶⁾. Saggs correctly suggested that the writer might have been a non-Assyrian, and therefore mis-applied the term of *bēl-pāhete*⁽⁵⁷⁾.

iii) The subdivision of *qannu* is the village *URU.ŠE* and the small settlement described by Assyrian sources as *URU.ŠE=kaprû*⁽⁵⁸⁾. *URU.ŠE* is normally associated with a personal name in legal transactions referring to a change of ownership. In royal inscriptions however, it stands alone without any personal name, e.g. *URU.ŠE-ni-šû* *URU.ŠE.* ^{MES}*-šû KAR.* ^{MES}*-šû*⁽⁵⁹⁾, which also marks the ownership by the 3.person singular masculine suffix *-šû*. The official associated with this administrative unit was the *EN.URU.ŠE-ni*⁽⁶⁰⁾ or *hazannu URU.ŠE.MI.É.GAL*⁽⁶¹⁾.

Fig.1 NA references for *URU.ŠE* and *URU kapru**occurs with *kapru*

owner	date	sources
Bel-ahhe	693	ADD 66:B.E.1 = ARU 124
[]	674	ADD 70:2-3 = ARU 115
[]	664	ADD 377:2 = ARU 399
Ildiši-illaku[ni]	"	ADD 373 :3= " "
Danna	"	ADD 377 :3 = " "
Tab(.XX)	693/688	ADD 400:10 = ARU 396
Mašili	?	ADD 409:8 = ARU 433
Diqqarate	622	ADD 414:r.4 = ARU 210
Laqipu	710	ADD 416:6,r.6 = ARU: 438
Dana?-ya	710	ADD 416:r.9 = " "
Kini	?	ADD 418:6 = ARU 211
[]	618	ADD 435:8 = ARU 447
[]	?	ADD 439:4 = ARU 110
[]	686	ADD 443:7 = ARU 97
[] AN	"	ADD 443:8 = " "
Nabu-šezib	668	ADD 472:2,4 = ARU 101
Bahaya	"	ADD 472:6 = " "; 625:7 = ARU 116; 627:10 = ARU 99
Zeruti?	"	ADD 472:8,11 = ARU 101
Nabu-bel-ahhe	"	ADD 472:9 = " "
Tabhari	670	ADD 625:9 = ARU 116
Šil-Bel	"	ADD 625:10 = " "
Ahi-yaqar	"	ADD 625:12 = " "
Huni[×]	?	ADD 643:4 = ARU 448
Kasse	Esarh.	ADD 755:6
LÚ.ENGAR	"	ADD 755:r.1
Akkulani	"	ADD 755:r.3
Babu		ND 208 = GPA 121:14
Dalal*	781	ND 209 = GPA 18:23
tur tānu	769	ND 265 = GPA 4:19
rab-āli*	?	ND 273 = GPA 135:4-5
Sidqi		ND 425 = GPA 207:5
Bel[]*		ND 448 = GPA 47:5
[]*		ND 459+450 = GPA 155:i,6
Bet-šašširi	744/734	ND 472 = GPA 25:3
[]*		ND 482 = GPA 48:i

iv) OA *tahumu* 'border' ⁽⁶²⁾ continues to be used in NA. It occurs in both MA laws ⁽⁶³⁾ and legal documents ⁽⁶⁴⁾. There are frequent NA references to it ⁽⁶⁵⁾ and the term was taken over into Aramaic ⁽⁶⁶⁾.

3. The definition of the Assyrian 'homeland'

The administration of the Assyrian homeland and the provincial centres always depended on the major capital city of the day. The most important among these were:

i) Ashur. As the capital of Assyria it stood under the protection of the national god Ashur and it remained an important political and religious centre until its destruction by the Babylonians in 614 BC. Most Assyrian kings, even if they built their own towns, were buried in Ashur, which underlines its particular prestige ⁽⁶⁷⁾.

The city first gained importance under Shamshi-adad I around 1926 BC and it was further enlarged by Puzur-Ashur III around c1813 BC ⁽⁶⁸⁾. Thereafter, although some kings began to build other new royal cities, the epigraphical evidence throughout this period shows that Ashur was maintained as an administrative and religious centre. The kings also ensured that the Ashur shrines, walls and gates were kept in good repair ⁽⁶⁹⁾. Up to the mid-eighth century BC, most kings and high officials had their stelae erected there ⁽⁷⁰⁾.

One name for Ashur, *URU.ŠÀ.URU=ālu libbi-āli* occurs more commonly in the MA ⁽⁷¹⁾ than the NA period ⁽⁷²⁾. The literal interpretation is 'the city within the city' or 'the inner-city'. The question is why was it given this name? As excavations have shown, most palaces and great temples were located in close proximity in the citadel in the northern part of Ashur ⁽⁷³⁾. The term might therefore have been used for the royal and administrative quarters of the city rather than for the city as a whole.

Ashur was the province of the *šakin-māti* throughout MA and NA periods ⁽⁷⁴⁾.

ii) Nineveh. This was one of the oldest cities in Assyria, famous for its ancient shrine dedicated to the goddess Ishtar. After Shamshi-adad I, Nineveh was politically of little importance because of the supremacy of the Mitanni dynasties. Nineveh became very important during the NA period, particularly in the time of Ashurnasirpal II, who rebuilt the temple of Ishtar⁽⁷⁷⁾ and set up his own palace there⁽⁷⁸⁾.

It was Sennacherib who made Nineveh a truly magnificent city and established it as a major administrative centre⁽⁷⁹⁾. His successor Esarhaddon built an arsenal in the region later called Nabi-Yunis. Ashurbanipal constructed a new palace and founded the great library⁽⁸⁰⁾. But only fourteen years after Ashurbanipal's death, Nineveh suffered a defeat, from which it never recovered⁽⁸¹⁾.

Nineveh as an administrative centre of the province is frequently mentioned in MA sources and throughout its history⁽⁸²⁾.

iii) Kalhu⁽⁸³⁾. Before Ashurnasirpal II, Kalhu is first mentioned in written sources during the thirteenth century BC⁽⁸⁴⁾, and other texts from Ashur show that Kalhu had been a provincial capital in MA⁽⁸⁵⁾. According to archaeological evidence, the city was occupied before Shalmaneser I⁽⁸⁶⁾.

Ashurnasirpal II claims to have built Kalhu on the ruins of ancient mounds, upon the foundation of an earlier building by Shalmaneser I⁽⁸⁷⁾. Kalhu remained a royal capital until Sargon II built his city Dur-šarruken⁽⁸⁸⁾. After Ashurnasirpal II, Kalhu became the centre of a local province as well as a capital. During their reigns, Tiglath-pileser III⁽⁸⁹⁾, Adad-nerari III⁽⁹⁰⁾, and possibly Sargon II⁽⁹¹⁾ assembled their armies there.

Kalhu continued as a provincial centre from the time of Ashurnasirpal II onwards⁽⁹²⁾ and it also served as the residence for its provincial governors⁽⁹³⁾. It is worth noting that there is no named provincial governor (i.e. *kēl-pāhete*) before Ashurnasirpal II's reign⁽⁹⁴⁾.

iv) Dur-Šarrukin ⁽⁹⁵⁾ was built by Sargon II in 713 BC as the new royal capital of Assyria. Soon after his death however, it was abandoned, because Sennacherib preferred Nineveh.

Dur-Šarrukin became a centre of an Assyrian province, which frequently occurs in the Assyrian sources ⁽⁹⁶⁾.

There was also a Babylonian city called Dur-Šarrukin ⁽⁹⁷⁾, located somewhere north of Babylon, near Opis, in the time of Nebuchadrezzar I ⁽⁹⁸⁾. It was listed after Dur-kurigalzu ⁽⁹⁹⁾.

This city also existed in NB sources (ie Nabonidus, Cambyses texts) ⁽¹⁰⁰⁾.

The administration of capital cities was in the hand of especial officials, whose authority was limited to a particular town and its immediate surroundings ⁽¹⁰¹⁾. There is no evidence to suggest that his power and duties differed in any significant way from those of other ordinary provincial governors.

v) KUR Aššur ^{KI}

In order to assess the development of the administrative system it is useful first to identify the extent of the Assyrian homeland, which was the basis for further expansions.

Before the time of Shamshi-adad I, Assyria was a primarily agricultural area, closely defined by its geographical situation, and dominated by a major city which served as the main administrative centre. This situation continued until Shamshi-adad I began the expansion of the Assyrian empire by capturing the fortified cities of Arbail and Arrapha ⁽¹⁰²⁾.

The latter city was temporarily taken back by Babylon, but Adad-nerari II recovered Arrapha and Lubdu after the defeat of Shamash-mudammīq, and integrated them into the Assyrian territory. Thereafter, the Assyrians annexed other Babylonian domains from Lahiru to Ugarsallu and the whole land of Der:
ištu ^{URU} *lahiri adi ugarsallu ana mišir* ^{KUR.d} *aššur šakāni māṭ* ^{URU} *dēri ana paṭ gimriša akšud* ^{URU} *arraphi* ^{URU} *lubda birāte* ^{MEŠ} ^{KUR} *karduniaš ana mišir* ^{KUR} *aššur utīr* ⁽¹⁰³⁾.

Thus the southern border between Assyria and Babylonia lay at this time (between 911-800, or probably 850 BC) somewhere

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above the lower Zab⁽¹⁰⁴⁾: *iš[^{tu}] URU til-bīt-bari ša ellan^{URU} za[ban] adi til-ša-^Ibatani u <til>-ša-^{URU}šabdani kudur(ru) uki[nnu]⁽¹⁰⁵⁾*. Adad-nerari II and Nabu-shuma-ukin mutually established their countries borders in this area. After that there are no Babylonian or Assyrian references, which would suggest that the above places were ever considered anything but Assyrian.

In the beginning of the MA period, the western border of Assyria probably extended at least along the Tharthar valley, since this is the only natural border and it also marks the dividing line between the desert and the urban area. The Arameans there were always the most dangerous threat to the Assyrians. From Ashurnasirpal II onwards, military actions ensured the Euphrates 'provinces' to be effective zones against the Suhu and other tribes.

To the north, Jebel-Maqlub is likely to mark the border. The Assyrian kings continued to use mountains to the north and east as a line of natural defences and certainly built garrisons there to watch out for any hostile activity.

4. Expansion beyond the homeland.

Some significant phrases used in the royal annals may be indicative of the status of the provinces concerned and might therefore provide some clues to their origin. The interpretation of some of these phrases can be confirmed by the Eponym Lists which contain the names of both governor and the province. All these may be used to evaluate the development of the NA provincial system.

i) Border extension: *mišir mātiya urappiēma*: 'I extended the border of my land'.

This phrase was first used by Adad-nerari I when he described himself as 'the extender of borders and boundaries' *murappiē miširi ù kudurrī*⁽¹⁰⁶⁾. It occurs as part of the summary of lands and cities which he claims to have captured. It is furthermore confirmed by his account of the expansion of the Assyrian homeland: 'From Lubdu and the land Raqipu to Eluhāt, conqueror of the cities Taidu, Shuru, Kahat,

Amasaku, Hurra, Shuduhu, Nabula, Washūkanu and Irridu, the entirety of Kashiyari to/with Eluhāt, the fortress of the city Sudu, the fortress of Harranu to/with Carchemish on the bank of the Euphrates, captor of all people, extendor of borders and boundaries':- *ištu lubdi ù^{KUR} raqipu adi eluhāt kašid^{URU} taidi^{URU} šuri^{URU} kahat^{URU} amasaki^{URU} hurra^{URU} šuduhi^{URU} nabula^{URU} uššukani ù^{URU} irridi sihirti kašiyaeri adi eluhāt halši^{URU} sudi halši harrāni adi^{URU} gargamiš ša^{ah} ID purattišābit kiššat nišē murappiš mišri⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ u kudurri⁽¹⁰⁷⁾.*

Tiglath-pileser I refers to the command of the god Ashur in order to justify his expansionist activity: 'Ashur and the great gods had granted ^{me strength and strength} as my lot; he commanded me to extend the border of their land' - *aššur ilāni^{MES} rabūti^{MES} mušar-bū šarrūtiya ša kiššuta u danāna ana is-qiya išrukūni mišir mātišun ruppūša iqbūni⁽¹⁰⁸⁾*. This passage refers to the Hittites who had conquered the Shubartu land which was itself a vassal territory of the god Ashur following its earlier assimilation by Tukulti-Ninurta I together with Mount Kashiyari⁽¹⁰⁹⁾. It probably regained its independence thereafter, only to be taken again by Tiglath-pileser I. This could explain why he considered it to be already a dependency of Ashur.

- ii) Domination of named territory - *kullat mātišunu apēl* -
- 'I became lord of all their land.'

This phrase first occurs in the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I, following the defeat of Qutu: 'I became lord of the extensive land of Qutu. With joy and lordly authority I stood over them': *KUR quti rapalta apīl ina hūd libbi ù metellūte elišunu lu a[ttazi]z⁽¹¹⁰⁾*. The phrase: *kullat mātišunu apīl* is used of the land Nairi⁽¹¹¹⁾ and also for Sumer and Akkad⁽¹¹²⁾. While it implies the Assyrian King's general supreme authority, it does not clarify the status of the defeated territory, since the district was at the time not under the direct administrative control of the Assyrian king⁽¹¹³⁾. Nor does it indicate any precise extension or refer to a particular province. The expression was not used after Adad-nerari II, who claimed to have been the 'lord' of Hanigalbat⁽¹¹⁴⁾.

iii) Consolidation of authority *māt gābbiša pā ištēn ušāškin*

'All that land I put/brought under one authority'

This is first attested in a summary of the campaigns of Tukulti-Ninurta I in the first year of his reign: 'I brought under one command the lands Mari, Hana, Rapiqu and the mountains of the Ahlamu, the lands Hargumish, Muqanash, Bit-Makki, Bit-Qulla, Akriash, Sikkuri, Huzush, Turnasuma, Hashshiluna, Shada, Sappani, Tursinuhlia, Duri, Uzamiya, Har-naphi, Kurdushshe, Ulayash, Ulmuyash, Hussaush, Ezaush, Dam-naush, Arinni, Birite, Arraphi, Kurbata, Agalishna, Shadaḫpa, Kamzikla, Kammarash, Elure, Kammenza, Albada, Sikapda, (and) Shabila. They regularly brought the tribute of their land and the produce of the mountains into my presence'. All these *pā ištēn^{en} lu ultaškinšu bilāt mātatīsumu u hišib huršānīšu ana mahriya lu ittar*. It seems unlikely though, that Tukulti-Ninurta I had assigned *rūni* (115) all these areas to the charge of either foreigners or Assyrian appointees because they were situated in different regions, and the various peoples had their own native rulers (see p 29). The best explanation of what Tukulti-Ninurta I meant with this phrase is that he had subdued and brought under his control all these areas as the representative of the god Ashur. It contributed to emphasize his supreme authority.

Similarly Tiglath-pileser I claims control over 42 regions: *naphar 42 mātatī u malkišina ištu ebirtān^{ID} zabe šupālī^Ġ siddi huršāni nisūti^Ġ adi ebirtān^{ID} puratta^{KUR} hattē u tamdi elinīte ša šalamu^d šamaš ištu rēš šarrūtīya adi 5 paliya qāti lu ikšud pā ištēn^{en} ušēškinšunuti* - 'Altogether I conquered 42 lands and their rulers from the other side of the Lower Zab in distant mountainous regions to the other side of the Euphrates, the Hittite and the Upper Sea in the west, from my accession year to my fifth regnal year' (116).

Adad-nerari II wrote about his campaign to the land of Hanigalbat in the eponym of Shamash-abuya (894BC): 'In the month simani in this (same) eponymate I marched for the fifth time to the land of Hanigalbat I received the tribute of the upper and lower Hanigalbat; (thus) I became lord of the extensive land Hanigalbat to its entire extent (and) brought (it) into the boundaries of my land (and) I put them under one authority'. *ina^{ITI} simāni ina līme annima 5-tešu ana^{KUR} hanigalbat lu allikmaddattu^{sa^{KUR}} hanigalbat eliš u šapliš lu amhur^{KUR} hanigalbat rapaštu* /

ana pāṭ gimrīša lu apil ana mišir mātiyā lûter ištēn^{en} pā
ušaški<in>šuruti (117).

The fact that the Assyrian king had subdued these lands and that he was now paid tribute, justified his point of view that they were 'under his command' and had become part of his responsibility. These are the only examples in the extant Assyrian royal inscriptions which also indicate the Assyrian king's general authority. This phrase was possibly replaced by ana qāt ^{LÚ}šūt-rēšiya..ušaškin, which was first used by Tiglath-pileser III (see below).

iv) Additions to Assyria- ana mišir Aššuraya/mātātīya uraddi utirra - 'I added/brought into/returned to the boundary/ies of Assyria/my land'.

These phrases were commonly used during the MA and NA periods to indicate that the area concerned was controlled by the Assyrian king. Sometimes it is not clear whether these are subjugated areas which had been added to the Assyrian homeland or previous additions to it, although an elaboration might occasionally be given⁽¹¹⁸⁾. This phrase was first used by Tukulti-Ninurta I in his accession year to Assyria (1244 BC) when he added/restored: ^{KUR}alzi ^{KUR}amadani ^{KUR}nihani ^{KUR}alaya ^{KUR}tepurzi ū ^{KUR}purulimzi miš rātišunu ana libbi mātiya lûter (119). These regions were located near Mount Kashiari and rebelled against his father and withheld tribute⁽¹²⁰⁾.

It was also used by Tiglath-pileser I in his second march to the Mushku land⁽¹²¹⁾. Thereafter he claims that he added the land of Mushku and its people to Assyria following additional deportations⁽¹²²⁾. The phrase utirra, uraddi, ušaškin may indicate the first expansion of the MA homeland, despite the existence of a local ruler who was forced to pay tribute in order to be recognized as legitimate ruler by the Assyrian king. But the Assyrian king claimed that these areas were within the Assyrian border and they were subsequently considered as part of the Assyrian homeland. This is particularly so in the NA period where from Adad-nerari II onwards this statement is quite common. In this way Adad-nerari II wrote of himself as 'the one who brought Katmuhu into the boundaries of his land': ^{KUR}katmuhi ana pāṭ gimrīša ipilūma ana mišir mātišu uter (123). He also claimed that it was

he who brought into the boundaries of his land the cities Idu and Zaqu, fortresses of Assyria, and that he had recaptured the cities Arinu, Turhu and Zaduru which the Shubru had diverted from Assyria: ^{URU}idu ^{URU}zaqu birāte^{MEŠ} ša^{KUR} aššur ana mišir mātišu uterra^{URU} arimu^{URU} turhu^{URU} zaduri kisittu ša^{KUR} šubr e ištu^{KUR} aššur nasahi⁽¹²⁴⁾. In his fifth campaign against Hanigalbat Adad-nerari II claimed to have 'brought Hanigalbat into the boundaries of Assyria' (125). While concerning the southern regions, he had already defeated Shamash-mudammiq, he says: šamaš-mudammiq šar^{KUR} karduniaš ištu^{KUR} jalman adi^{ID} dur-an iškunu ištu^{URU} lahiri adi ugār^{URU} salum ana mišir^{KUR} aššur šakāni māt^{URU} dêri ana paṭ gimriša akšud^{URU} arrapha^{URU} lubdu birāte^{MEŠ} KUR karduniaš ana mišir^{KUR} aššur utir⁽¹²⁶⁾. This phrase continued to be used as a technical term throughout the NA period (127).

v) Assimilation as 'Assyrian' ('I regarded as/ counted it/them with the Assyrians)

This depends on the meaning of *amnu* which can denote:

- a) To consider a person or a region as belonging to a specific country or area. In this case the verb is always used with the preposition *itti* (NA *issi*) or *ana*. It first occurs in Tiglath-pileser's records concerning the land of Sugi: 'I imposed tribute and taxes upon them and counted them with the subjects of my lord Ashur.' *biltu ù maddatta elišunu ukīn itti dāgil pān aššur bēlī-ya amnušunuti* (128). This may explain that Tiglath-pileser I had annexed the land of Sugi into the Assyrian territory and had made it subject to Ashur, i.e. himself. He speaks of the deportation of 4000 of the Hittite population: 'I took and considered them as people of my land' *alqašunutima ana niše^{MEŠ} mātiya amnušunuti* (129).

Ashurnasirpal II in his Kalhu wall inscription described the conquest of the fortresses of Babylonia and its people: *ana niše^{MEŠ} mātātīya amnu* (130).

Shalmanesar III also stated: 87500 *ummanāte^{MEŠ} KUR hatti assuha ana niše^{MEŠ} mātiya amnu* (131).

The Hittites always took the chance to defect whenever there was a weak Assyrian ruler or administration. Therefore the use of this phrase may indicate

that the Assyrians had conquered an area and had annexed it and its population to Assyria. This interpretation is further supported by the reports concerning the movements of the conquered population: [ittī] niše^{MEŠ KUR} aššur amnušunuti ilku tupšikku kī ša aššuri [ēmissunū]ti 'I considered them as inhabitants of Assyria (and) thus having the same duties and service as the Assyrian natives.' (132)

From Sargon II onwards the expression was used frequently with other idiomatic phrases such as: šallatiš e.g. šāšu qādu 30 GIŠ narkabate^{MEŠ} 7350 mundahšišu aha šallati amnušu 'I counted him as spoil captive (together with) 30 chariots and 7350 of his warriors' (133).

On the other hand, Esarhaddon considered them as Babylonian citizens and granted them new privileges (134).

It is significant that amnu is also associated with the new appointment of a provincial governor by the king himself: LU šūt-rēšišu ana pāhātūti istakkanuma itti niše^{MEŠ KUR} aššur imnušunuti - 'Who sat his officials to the office of provincial governor (and) considered them as people of Assyria' (135)

- b) amnu can also mean 'to assign/deliver a person/an object to the responsibility of another person':

ina/ana qāt LU šūt-rēšiya bēl-pāhete amnušunūti

The above expression always implies the Assyrian domination over the conquered or re-settled area.

It can also describe a precise district or province which had been re-organized or added to the Assyrian territory with an Assyrian appointee set over it: ana eššūti ašbat ana mišir mātiya utir/uraddi LU šūt-rēšiya elišunu aškun/apqid.

All denote the expansion of the Assyrian homeland and the Assyrian direct rule over foreign territory, which was usually preceded by military operations.

5. Methods of controlling newly acquired territories

In order to administer a large country efficiently, it was necessary to subdivide it into manageable smaller geographical units. In the earliest times it was the tradition in Mesopotamia to appoint a representative of the king at major cities. This method is well attested from the OB period onwards⁽¹³⁶⁾. From the beginning of the NA period, from Adad-nerari II until the fall of Assyria, there is plenty of material which enables us to examine the administrative arrangements in some detail.

It is possible to differentiate between the system of the earlier period of Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmanesar III, and that inaugurated later by Tiglath-pileser III. For the earlier period the prime sources are annals, eponym lists and the Aššur-Stelae, which normally record the names of the governors. The annals occasionally make references by name and location to subordinate officials. For the later provincial administration references are found in annals, eponym-lists as well as in administrative correspondence and commercial documents.

It seems that concerning the first contact with a foreign state, the Assyrian king normally described himself as *šarru dannu šar kiššāti šarru la šanān šar kibrāt arḫa'i..* *kāšid* of GN⁽¹³⁷⁾, a statement which implies successful military campaigns and victory over the given territory. He then proceeded to take spoil and property from it - *šallassunu būšašunu ušeša*. In some cases, when the conquered area rebelled against him, the Assyrian king was obliged to make a further campaign either in person or by sending one of his commanders-in-chief (i.e. *turtānu*). An example of this is when Shalmanesar III ordered Dayan-Aššur, the *turtānu* in 831 BC to go against Urartu - *dayān-aššur* ^{LÚ} *turtānu rab ummāni HI.Arapši ina pānāt ummānīya ana* ^{KUR} *urartu uma'ir*⁽¹³⁸⁾. A year later, the same person - Dayan-Aššur, was ordered again to advance against Bit-Zamani⁽¹³⁹⁾. Generally such action was followed by the death or the removal of the rebel from his throne as a penalty for disloyalty

or the non-fulfilment of his obligations. Such a ruler was usually replaced by another appointee with assured loyalty to Assyria. He was also required to pay additional tribute and taxes and had to undertake further duties, e.g. ^Isasi mā^r ^{KUR}uššāya šēpē-^{II}īškāt ana šarrūti ina muhhišunu aškun kaspū hurašū annuku siparru parzillu šinni piri ana la manīam-huršunuti (140) -

The vassal rulers were bound by oath to the god Ashur mamit aššur bēliya ina muhhi šalām aššur [bēliya] uttammešu (141). Alternatively, the Assyrian king might follow the breaking of the oath by the first holder by the appointment of a governor directly responsible to him, who took over the full administrative and possibly military responsibility in the conquered area (142).

There are certain expressions in the annals which illustrate such methods of subjugating territories:

i. Setting up a local person as ruler.

The most frequent phrase is 'I installed my governors everywhere' (143). This was first said by Shamshi-adad I and shows that he had already gained control over the territory, but it does not indicate whether the governors were Assyrians or natives, and whether the control was direct or indirect. Similarly Ashurnasirpal II says: ina mātāti ^{MEŠ-tz}šapilušināni ^{LU}šaknūtiya altaḫkan urdūti uppušu 'in the land over which I gained dominion I appointed my governors. They became my vassals (lit. did service)' (144). Ashurnasirpal II thus indicates that the appointee was a local and not an Assyrian governor because, a) there is no known case of a native Assyrian being called upon to do vassal service (urdūti epēšu) and b) he had already appointed a local citizen in a non-Assyrian territory as ruler (145).

It seems that the occurrence of PN ina šarrūti ušēšib/aškun - 'I set up PN as ruler' is used for a son or brother of the ruling royal family, who was chosen by the Assyrian king because of his reliability and loyalty. So Ashurnasirpal II says: ^Iazi-ili ^{LU}šaknu^{nu} ša ramāniya elišunu aškun - 'Azi-ili, governor of my own, I set over them' (i.e. ^{KUR}lage) (146). This Azi-ili rebelled against Ashurnasirpal II and was consequently driven out (147). Ashurnasirpal

appointed Ilanu, brother of Amme-Ba'alī, a citizen of Bit-Zamani — *ilānu ahišu ana LU nasikūti aškun* — who was, however, murdered by Bur-ramanu⁽¹⁴⁸⁾. Amme-Ba'alī himself had been appointed earlier by Tukulti-Ninurta II⁽¹⁴⁹⁾. From this can be deduced that Amme-Ba'alī served as ruler of the land of Laqe under Tukulti-Ninurta II and Ashurnasirpal II until he was replaced by his brother, who also rebelled against his overlord, but was subdued again⁽¹⁵⁰⁾.

In 852 BC, Shalmaneser III set up Yanzu, son of Hanban, as king over Namri, instead of the defeated Marduk-mudammiq⁽¹⁵¹⁾. Twenty years later, in 832 BC, Shalmaneser III advanced against Kate of Que. He captured the leader and set up Kirri, the brother of Kate, as the new ruler: *kirri ahišu ša I kati ana šarrūti ina muhhišuru aškun*⁽¹⁵²⁾. In 830 BC, the Hittites rebelled against Shalmaneser III and slew Lubarna, their lord, who appears to have been a subordinate of Assyria and he was replaced by Surri, who is described by the Assyrians as *mār-la-mamman*⁽¹⁵³⁾.

During Tiglath-pileser III's reign, there is no indication that he put any local persons in charge of a captured territory⁽¹⁵⁴⁾, but he maintained his firm hold over such areas by appointing Assyrian governors⁽¹⁵⁵⁾.

Sargon II, on the other hand, used the previous system, for he claimed that he placed Aza, son of Iranazu, father of Ullusunū, as ruler of the land of the Manneans about 716 BC, because of his father's death: *ina ūmē I irzanu KUR mannāya ardu kanšu šādīd niriya šimtu ūbil ušuma I aza mārūšu ina GIS kussišu ušēšibu*⁽¹⁵⁶⁾. It seems that a Mannean revolt led by Bagdatti, his son, took place and that Aza was killed and his body thrown from Mt. Uauš: *ina KUR uauš šādī marši LU pagar I aza bēlīšunu iddu*⁽¹⁵⁷⁾. Sargon removed Bagdadu and seated Ullusunū, brother of Aza on the Mannean throne in 715 BC: *ullusunū ahišu ina GIS kussi šarrūti ušēšibu ..gimir KUR mannāya ..ušadgila pāmīššu*⁽¹⁵⁸⁾. But Ullusunū was also an ally to three of Assyria's main enemies, Rusa of Urartu, Ashur-le'u of Karalla and Itti of Allabria. Following Sargon's victory over them all, he forgave Ullusunū and re-installed him on the throne. He carried the others off to Assyria and incorporated their six captured cities in the authority of his provincial-governor of Parsuash: *ullusunū adi kullat mātišu kī ištēn iphurūnima šepē II-ya [iṣba] tūma ar[sišunūti] rēmu ša ullusunū hittišu abuk ina GIS kussi šarrūtišu ušēšibšu*⁽¹⁵⁹⁾. This example explains in detail how the Assyrian kept control over a conquered area. He first appointed a loyal ruler, but following any act of disloyalty, the king would either pardon and replace, or remove the offender, and subsequently appoint one of his own officials as governor⁽¹⁶⁰⁾.

In the same year, 715 BC., Kibaba, the *bēl āli* of Harhar (a subordinate ruler under Sargon II) was driven out by his own people, who became vassals to Talti of Ellipi (161). Because of this disloyalty, Sargon II changed his method of control by appointing his own official as governor over them: *ālu šuātu akšudma šalla[s]su ašlula niše^{MES} mātaṭti kišitti qate^{II}ya ina libbi uš^{LÚ}erib^{LÚ} šūt-rēšiya^{LÚ} bēl-pāhete elišunu aškun* (162).

In 713 BC, there was a revolt in Tabal, in north-western Assyria, and Sargon II tried a new method. He appointed a local citizen and then presented the ruler Ambaris with his daughter as a wife (a sign of alliance). He also added the adjacent Hilakki to the Tabal territory and thus extended his vassal's authority: *I^Iambaris^{KUR} tabalāya ina^{GIS} kussi^I hulli abišu ušēšibšuma binti^I itti^{KUR} hilakki la mišir abišu addiššuma urappiš^{IV} massu* (163). Ambaris, however, was not satisfied with all these privileges and broke his allegiance to Assyria by joining Ursa, king of Urartu and Mita, king of Muski, in a campaign against Sargon II (164). The result of such a disgraceful breaking of the vassal-oath, was that he was carried off with his family to Assyria. An Assyrian official replaced him in Tabal (165).

The replacement of a local ruler by his brother, sometimes took place not for military, but for economic reasons, mainly in cases where tribute was withheld. It was for this reason that Sargon II removed Azuru, the ruler of Ashdod, and put his brother Ahimitu on the throne instead (710 BC) (166).

Sennacherib also continued to appoint local rulers to the throne of conquered territories. He put Tubalu in place of Lule over Great Sidon, Little Sidon, Bit-Zitti, Zaribtu, Mahalliba, Usha, Akzib and Akku (167). He also claims that all the kings of Amurru had brought him tribute asking for submission (168), which might imply that they subsequently became vassals of Assyria. He also seated Sharru-ludari, son of Rukibti, on his father's throne of Ashkelon: *I^Všarru-ludāri mār rukibti šarrušunu mahrū[^] ēli niše^{URU} isqalluna aš-kunma* (169).

During Esarhaddon's reign, there are indications that he did the same as his predecessor, and practised the same system of appointing natives as rulers. When he defeated

Shamash-ibni of Bit-Dakkuri, he put Nabu-shallim, son of Balasi in his place⁽¹⁷⁰⁾. Esarhaddon thereupon considered him as a vassal, since 'he drew my yoke'.

Ashurbanipal claimed that he re-appointed those whom his father had put in charge over Egypt⁽¹⁷¹⁾. They plotted against him and broke the vassal-oaths which they had sworn, thus breaking their solemn word to the great gods⁽¹⁷²⁾. As a result of this they were taken to Nineveh⁽¹⁷³⁾. Because of the loyalty of Yakinlu, ruler of Arvad, Ashurbanipal showed favour to his sons after the death of their father:
*I*azi-ba'al *hadiš* *appališma* ana *šarrūti* ^{KUR}*aruaddaaškunšu*
*I*ahi-ba'al *I*aduni-ba'al *I*sapati-ba'al *I*hud-ba'al *I*ba'al-
yašupu *I*ba'al-hanunu *I*ba'al-maluk *I*abi-milki *lubulti* *ulabbiš*
šemire^{MES} *hurāši* *urakkisa* *rittēšūn* *ina* *mahriya* *ulzizsunūti*
 (174). Ashurbanipal later put Teumman, the Elamite, on his father's throne⁽¹⁷⁵⁾.

The phrase *PN ina GIS^š kussi šarrūti elišunu aškun* may mean that the Assyrian king had nominated the named person to be responsible for the given area. It may also mean that he had assembled all the scattered authorities — some representing small tribal subdivisions — within that region under a single individual⁽¹⁷⁶⁾. If this were so, the newly recognized ruler became responsible to Assyria for any rebellion in the area of his jurisdiction. By this means the Assyrian king hoped to avoid the necessity of further campaigning in the area. Moreover, he now knew who could be held personally responsible for any later disturbance or for withholding tribute and tax-payments. He would be able to punish the offender without further enquiries.

ii. The royal act of pardon

In addition to the examples given above concerning the use of the phrase "I set PN as ruler over GN", there are other instances, where the Assyrian king pardoned some of his disloyal appointees. The phrase *rēmu aršāšūma* is used by the Assyrian king in connection with a subordinate ruler, but on the other hand it is part of the method of controlling and administering the area concerned.

The first occurrence of this is in the annals of Tiglath-pileser I. The passage refers to Seni, king of Dayenu, of whom he says: 'I brought Seni, king of Dayenu who had not been submissive to the god Ashur, my lord, in bands and fetters to my city Ashur. I had mercy on him and let him leave my city Ashur alive in order to proclaim the glory of the great gods. (Thus) I became lord of the whole of the extensive lands of Nairi. Indeed all their rulers I subdued at my feet'. *I seni ša^{KUR} dayeni ša ana d aššur bēliya la kanšu salūssu u kamūssu ana āliya d aššur ublašu rēmu aršāšūma ištu āliya d aššur dalil ilāni^{MEŠ} rabūti^{MEŠ} ana dalāli ana napišti umašširšu mātāti^{MEŠ} na'iri rapšāte^{MEŠ} ana pāṭ gimrišina apīl u naphar šarrāni^{MEŠ} šunu ana šepē^{II} ya ušēknis⁽¹⁷⁷⁾*. It is not clear here whether Tiglath-pileser I merely let him go free without any conditions other than recognizing the Assyrian supremacy. It is quite likely that he re-appointed him, after he acknowledged the king's authority. Such re-appointment may also be borne out by the following example in which an additional sentence has been added to the phrase: *rēmu aršāšūma + ... apqidma*. This means that not only did Tiglath-pileser I overlook a previous crime committed by Seni, but also that he pardoned him in order to be able to rely on his and his family's complete loyalty in future times. In every instance, where the king says *rēmu aršāšūma* to someone who had surrendered to him, it was in order to place an obligation upon him, usually as a vassal. For example, Tukulti-Ninurta II was *rēmu aršāšū* to Amme-ba'ali, a citizen of Bit-Zamani, who had led a revolt by the Nairi people against him in 886 BC. Following their defeat he says:

' I was merciful towards Amme-Ba'ali, a man of Bit-Zamani. I established (them) in suitable cities (and) settled them in a peaceful place. I had him take an oath by Ashur, my lord, before the statue of Ashur (my lord), (saying):

"If you give horses to my enemies (and) foes, the god

Adad will..." : ^I amme-ba'al mār zammāni rēmūttu aš-
ku[n]aššu āl[āni] ^{MEŠ} naṭūte ušašbit šubtu nēhtu ušēšibšu-
[nu]māmit aššur bēliya ^{ina} muhhi šalam aššur bēliya utammešu šum-
ma attunu sise ^{MEŠ} ana nakrūtiya ^{MEŠ} salmiya tadnuni [?] d adad.. (178)

Amme-ba'ali went on to pay tribute to Ashurnasirpal II, the successor of Tukulti-Ninurta II: maddattu ša ^I amme-ba'ali mār zamāni ..amhur (179). This passage is interesting, since it seems to imply that one of the obligations contained in the oath of Ashur, was not to supply Assyria's enemies with horses and it could also mean that the Assyrians themselves were in desperate need of horses to enable them to carry on with their campaigns.

Shalmaneser III used the 'phrase of pardon' when he defeated Shulusunu (180). In another broken text, Shalmaneser III took a similar line of action in Urartu (181).

Esarhaddon too pardoned Layali after having put to death eight rulers of the province of Banzu: 'Layale, ruler of the city of Yadi', who had taken to his heels before (the approach of) my army, panic befell him

(he) came to Nineveh, into my presence and kissed my feet. I had mercy upon him; that district of the city Banzi I made subservient to him' -
^I layali šār ^{URU} yadi' ša lapān ^{GIŠ} kakke ^{MEŠ} ya innabtu haṭṭu
ramānišu imgušsuma ana ^{URU} nina adi mahriya illik-amma unaššiq
šepē ^{II} ya rēmu ^{aršīšsuma} nage ^{URU} banzi šuātum ušadgil panūššu
(182).

Ashurbanipal had put to death all the rebel rulers in Egypt, but he pardoned Niku (Necho), one of the local rulers and made him take an oath which was much more severe than his previous one: 'Out of all of them I pardoned only Niku, spared his life and laid an oath, more drastic than the former, upon him. I clothed him in splendid garments, laid upon his (neck) a golden chain as the symbol of royalty. I put rings of gold on his fingers, gave him an iron girdle-dagger set in gold on which I had written my name. Chariots, horses and mules I presented to him for his royal

riding. My official, the provincial governor, I sent with him, (to serve as) a token of his alliance. I sent him back to his post in Sais, where my father, my begetter, had set him up as a ruler, and Nabu-Shezibanni, his son, I set over Hathariba. I showed him even greater favour than my father, my begetter had:

ana niku ultu birišun rēmu aršissuma uballit
 napša^{su} ad^{ti} elī ša mahri ušātirma ittišu aškun lubultu
 birme ulabbisuma allu hurāši simat šarrūtišu aškunšu šemi-
 re^{MES} hurāši urakkisa rittēšu patru parzilli šibbi ša ihzu-
 šu hurāšy nibit šumiya ina muhhi ašturma addinšu ^{GIS} nar-
 kabati^{MES} sise^{MES} pare^{MES} ana rukūb bēlūtišu aqissu ^{LU} sūt-
 rešiya ^{LU} pāhāte^{MES} ana kitrišu ittišu ašpur ašar abu fanūa
 ina ^{URU} sāya ana šarrūti ipqidduš ana maškanišu utiršu ū
 I d nabū-šezi^{bani} māršu ana ^{URU} hathariba apqid tātū damiqtu
 eli sa abi bāniya ušātirma epussu⁽¹⁸³⁾. This indicates that

Niku has served under Esarhaddon and Ashur-banipal, and that his son Nabu-šezi^{bani} was fortunate to receive Ashurbanipal's kindness in his appointment as ruler of Hathariba.

Also ... ^{LU} sūt-rešiya ^{LU} pāhāte^{MES} ana kitrišu ittiš ašpur may reveal a new method used by the Assyrian king, namely the re-appointment of such rulers under the scrutiny of an Assyrian 'advisor'. This system was inaugurated by Tiglath-pileser. III in 736 BC: ^I idibi'lu ana ^{LU} qēpūti eli ^{KUR} mušri aškun⁽¹⁸⁴⁾. It may also be confirmed by the actions

taken by Sargon II on his Eighth campaign: maddattašunu ina ^{URU} zirdiakka ša ^{KUR} mannāya adi mah[ri]ya ūblūni aššu eṭir
 napištušun ibālūnima ana la naqār dūrāni^{MES} sunu unaššiqu.
 šēpe^{II} ya ū ana šalām mātišun ^{LU} qēpu elišunu apqidma :

'their tribute..in the city of Zirdiakka of the land of the Manneans they brought before me. They begged me to spare their lives and not to destroy their walls . They kissed my feet and for the security of their land

I set a qēpu-official over them'⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ By this means the Assyrian king would ensure immediate notice of any significant actions, especially of any dissension or rebellion, or military allegiances with neighbours. For this very reason Ashurbanipal installed his qēpu-official with the provincial-governors in Egypt together with the local ruler:

Theserulers, provincial-governors, qēpu - official (overseer), whom my father had installed in Egypt,

who had deserted their posts, before the advance of Tarqu filled the plain, I re-installed them in their posts, in their (former) residences' :

šarrāni^{MES} annūti^{LÚ} pāhūte^{MES} LÚ qēpāni ša qereb^{KUR} mušur upaqqudu abu bānūa
ša lapān tībūt^I tarqu piqittasūn umaššeru imlū šēru utirma
ašar piqittisūn ina maškanišun apqissunūti (186).

Ashurbānīpal considered these local rulers and the Assyrian qēpu - official as his subordinates : ardāni^{MES} ya dagil pāniya. (187)

The same local rulers later plotted against Ashurbānīpal and followed their own counsel : 'They are driving Tarqu out of Egypt, how can we remain, to Tarqu, ruler of the land of Kusi (Ethiopia), they sent their envoys for the purpose of making a treaty and friendship saying: let a treaty be established between us, let us be of help to one another, let us divide the land in two parts, let no other be lord among us' :
tarqu ultū qereb^{KUR} mušur inassihuma attūni ašabāni mīny, eli tarqu šar^{KUR} kūsi ana šakan adē u salime uma'erū^{LÚ} rakbešūn umma sulumū ina birinni liššakinma nindaggara ahameš mātu ahennā nizūzmaaya ihba-
ši ina birinni šanūmma bēlum (188).

Ashurbānīpal probably received this information about such intended alliance through his qēpu-official, who was an Assyrian agent. He confirms this :
šūt-reši^{MES} ya amāte^{annate} LÚ rakbešūn adi šiprātišunu išbatūnimma emurū ipšīt surrātešun
šarrāni^{MES} annūte išbatūnimma ina birite parzilli išqāti parzilli utammehū qātē^{II} u šepē^{II}: my official heard of these matters, seized the envoys and their messages, and saw the rebellious plot. They seized these rulers and bound them hand and feet in bonds and fetters.' (189). Their penalty was death, except for Niku, who was re-installed in his office (190). This proves that the qēpu -and other officials (LÚ šūt-reši^{MES} ya) were acting as advisors to local rulers, as well as being intelligence gatherers for Assyria. Maybe the Assyrian king tried thereby to avoid the costs of maintaining an army in Egypt. Like the Assyrian agents stationed in Urartu by Sargon II, they would have sent regular reports via his overall representative (in Urartu this was the crown-prince Sennacherib) (191)

Esarhaddon had sent his qēpu-official to Tyre, when he made the treaty with Ba'al, its ruler. It is clear that the qēpu was meant to be an advisor to Ba'al: 'the qēpu

whom/ I placed upon you [...] your... The oldest of your country, to advise [...]with them. [...] ships [...] before [...] from the side [...] You must not listen to [the words] from his mouth, (the official), and you must not open a letter as well, that I sent to you, without 'the qēpu. If/when the qēpu is not close to you(present)/

, you must wait for him(and then)

you may open it" :[qēpu ša ana] muhhika ašku-

nuni [...]ka ^{LÚ}paršamūte ša mātika ina milki [...] -uni

^{LÚ}qēpu issišunu i-[...] ^{GIŠ}eleppēti^{MES} [...] šá [...] šá

ina pāni [...] ultu šid' [...amat'] pīšu la tašammema balāt

^{LÚ}[q]ē[pu] ù egirṭu ša ašapparkanni balāt ^{LÚ}qēpu la

tapatt[i] šumma ^{LÚ}qēpu la qurba ina pānišu taḡagal tapatti

(192). It is likely that the qēpu of Tyre was able to read other written languages beside the Akkadian, possibly Aramaic which was the main spoken and written language in that area, otherwise he would have needed an interpreter (targumannu). This example may further explain the appointment of a qēpu with other officials in Egypt⁽¹⁹³⁾.

In addition to this type of arrangement there is evidence that in some cases the Assyrian king appointed a member of his own family, usually a son and often the crown-prince, who would be put in charge over officials as part of his training. This was the case with Sennacherib on the Urartean frontier, from where he reported to his father⁽¹⁹⁴⁾. Sennacherib himself appointed his oldest son Ashur-nadin-shumi as ruler over Babylon⁽¹⁹⁵⁾. Perhaps this was an alternative to a combined regency with the homeland. The tension caused by this practice following the appointment of a younger son had many repercussions as in the case of Esarhaddon⁽¹⁹⁶⁾. He himself refers to this and a rebellion perhaps led by Ashur-nadin-shumi⁽¹⁹⁷⁾. For this reason Esarhaddon made his treaty with local rulers who had to swear loyalty-oaths when he nominated Shamash-shum-ukin as future king of Babylon and Ashurbanipal as king of Assyria⁽¹⁹⁸⁾. It is still obscure why later Assyrian kings chose their youngest son to be successor in Assyria and the eldest to be ruler of Babylon.

An instance of a Babylonian being appointed directly as ruler over Babylon was Bel-ibni by Sennacherib
I bēl-ibni mār rab banē piri! ŠU.AN.NA^{KI} ša kīma mīrāni
šahri qereb ekalliya irbū [ana šarrūte^{KUR} akkadi] u šumeri^{KI}
aštakan el-šur⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ The text shows that Bel-ibni had grown up at
 Sennacherib's palace and it may indicate that the
 Assyrian king preferred to appoint someone who had been
 brought up in the palace and who had received some form
 of training as political governor. This practice goes
 back to Ashurnasirpal II who wrote of cities of Nai'iri: "I received from them
 property, possessions, (and) sons for (the training as)
 ambassadors." : *makkur^{MES} -šunu būšašunu mārūšunu ana šapr-*
[ūte] [amhur]šun⁽²⁰⁰⁾. The use of *šaprūte* for ambassador/
 delegate could indicate that in certain cases the Assyrian
 king also educated the sons of important/leading families in
 his palace in order to establish close ties and loyalty
 with the area concerned.

iii. Subordinate rulers (*dāgil pānī* - 'favoured dependents' —
ardūte/adē epēšū 'to serve as vassal')

These are expressions which were in use throughout the MA and NA period. A passage in the Synchronistic History shows that Babylon under Adad-apla-iddina was a vassal-state of Ashur-bel-kala, "at the time of Ashur-b[el]-kala, king of [Assyria], Marduk-shapik-zeri, king of Babylon, passed [away] . He (Ashur-bel-kala) appointed Adad-apla-iddina, son of Esagil-Shaduni, a. *mār-la-mamman* as sovereign (i.e. Babylon)' (201). This vassalage is also confirmed by the account of Adad-apla-iddina's accession to the Babylonian throne (202).

Adad-nerari II re-appointed Amel-Adad the Qatnean, his previous subject (*dāgil pānī*) to the throne of Qatna in order to receive from him royal gifts including chariots and horses (203). Amel-Adad seems to have continued as a vassal to Ashurnasirpal II, since the latter mentioned him as paying him tribute in 882 BC, during his campaign against the rebel city of Suru on the river Habur (204).

Sargon II in 717 BC claimed that Shuandahul and Durdu-kka, two strong Mannean cities, rebelled against Iranzu

their ruler, who bore Sargon II's yoke⁽²⁰⁵⁾. In 717 BC he deported Pisiri, ruler of Carchemish,

, following a transgression of his vassal status by sending messages to Mita, ruler of the land of Muški⁽²⁰⁶⁾. This indicates that Pisiri had taken the vassal-oath before, but disregarded it by making an alliance with Mita of Muški.

Similarly Sennacherib had bound Padi of Ekron who subsequently became his vassal by *adu*-oath: ^{LU}šakka-nake^{MEŠ} ^{LU}rabūte^{MEŠ} ū niše^{MEŠ} ^{URU}amqarruna ša ^Ipadi šarrā-šunu bēl adē ū māmēt ša aššur^{KI} birītu parzilli idduma ana ^Ihazaqiya^{KUR} gaudāya iddinūsu⁽²⁰⁷⁾. Thus Sennacherib saved Padi by freeing him from the hands of Hezekiah in Jerusalem ^Ipadi šarrāsumu ultu qereb ^{URU}ursalimmi ušēšamma ina ^{GIS}kussi bēlūti elīsun⁽²⁰⁸⁾. Because Hezekiah refused to submit Jerusalem to Sennacherib, he was deprived of 46 villages, which were divided between Padi of Ekron, Mitinti of Ashqelon and Šilli-bel of Gaza⁽²⁰⁹⁾. Esarhaddon claimed that Nabu-zer-kitti-lishir had besieged Nergal-iddina, governor of Ur, who had hitherto been an obedient subject—^{LU}ardu dāgil, pāni⁽²¹⁰⁾. He therefore sent his officials ^{LU}šūt-rešiya^{MEŠ} ^{LU}pāhate^{MEŠ} ša pāti mātišu uma'ir⁽²¹¹⁾ to support Nergal-iddina. They defeated Nabu-zer-kitti-lišir, who escaped with his brother Na'id-Marduk to Elam, the latter returned to Assyria after his brother's death. 'Na'id-Marduk, his brother, saw the deed of the Elamite which they did to his brother, fled from Elam and came to Assyria to become (lit. do) my servant. He implored my royal favour. The Sea-land in its entirety, the domain of his brother, I put under his control': ^Ina'id-marduk ahušu epšet ^{KUR}elamti^{KI} ša ana ahišu eteppušu emurma ultu ^{KUR}elamti^{KI} inabtamma ana epēš ardūtiya ana ^{KUR}aššur^{KI} illikamma ušallā bēlūti ^{KUR}tamtim ana šihirtiša rēdūt ahišu ušadgil pānūsu⁽²¹²⁾. Esarhaddon had not only pardoned him, but given him the rule of the Sea-land in succession to his brother.

Ashurbanipal reports that during his six campaigns against Elam, the Gambulu tribal leader and officials were made subject to him: ^Ibēl-iqiša ^{KUR}[gambulu] ^I.d nabū-sum-ēr-eš ^{LU}šandabakku ardāni^{MEŠ} [dāgil pāniya]⁽²¹³⁾. His action was the required response against a rebel.

It seems that the Arab sheikhs became vassals of Ashur-

banipal despite their attitude of independence, revealed by frequent rebellions: 'yauti' mār ^Ihaza'ilu šar ^{KUR}qidri epīš ardūtīya . Yauti was made to swear by the great gods (214) and when he violated this oath by withholding his dues, he was defeated. He sought refuge in Nabaiti, where Natnu was the ruler, himself a vassal to Assyria. Natnu was attacked for his act of hospitality and for refusing to send a messenger to Ashurbanipal's father. But 'now he sent his messenger of peace to me and kissed my feet, imploring my lordship to place (establish) an adû-oath peace and vassalage with me. I looked upon him with pleasure' -eninna yāti ^{LÚ}mār-šiprišu ša šulme išpuramma un-aššiq šepē^{II}ya ana šakān adē sulumme epēš ardūtīya uššanallā bēlūtīya anāku hadiš appališšuma pānīya damaqāti^{MES} elišū aškun (215). Abiyala', son of Te'ri, later also came to Nineveh, asking for submission and Ashur-banipal made him take an adû-oath and established him as vassal of Assyria (216). Meanwhile Kamashalta, ruler of Moab, who was also a vassal of Ashurbanipal, lent the Assyrians support against Ammuladi, the ruler of Kadri (217).

The above examples demonstrate a variety of reasons for becoming Assyrian vassals. It could be an act of military weakness, & an attempt to avoid an armed confrontation. It could also be the result of a defeat, in which case the vanquished became automatically a vassal of the victor. Some Assyrian kings claimed that some ruler became vassals voluntarily, particularly when they had only recently come to the throne. The Assyrians also considered the act of bringing tribute as a signal of submission, as in the case of the twenty two rulers of the Mediterranean coast-land (217). Military assistance which was submitted to Assyria during the Eg. campaign may also be seen as an indication of subservience to Assyria. This was so with the rulers of *Ebir Nari* and Egypt, who gave their aid to the provincial-governors of Egypt and the troops of Ashurbanipal against Tarqu (219).

During the NA period the Assyrian kings imposed treaties of loyalty on their subordinate rulers in order to control them more efficiently. The first of such treaties

of this period was established between Ashur-nerari V and Mati'-ilu, ruler of Arpad (Bit-Agusi) in 754 BC:

adê ša aššur-nērāri šar^{KUR} aššur TA mati'ilu šakāni (220).

This *adû*-treaty also contained military assistance to Ashur-nerari against his enemies⁽²²¹⁾. Esarhaddon records terms imposed on Ba'al of Tyre which were primarily of an economic nature⁽²²²⁾. They may only be a fragment

from a fuller document, which might have included political terms as well.

The main extant political *adû*-treaties of the NA period was that of Esarhaddon which concerned vassals such as Ramataya: *adê ša^I aššur-ahu-iddina šar₄ kiššāti šar₄ KUR aššur mār^I d sin-ahhē^{MEŠ} eriba šar₄ kiššāti šar^{KUR} aššur^{ma} issi^I ramatāya bēl-āli^{URU} urakazābanu issi mārē^{MEŠ} -šu mār-mar te^{MEŠ} -šu issi^{URU} urakazabanāya gabbū še hru rabū mala bašū* (223). This loyalty-oath concerned the nomination of the crown-prince Ashurbanipal as the future king of Assyria and his brother Shamash-shum-ukin as ruler over Babylonia⁽²²⁴⁾. He probably made this *adû* to ensure the stability of the throne & regime during the last years of his reign. He wanted to avoid his nobles or officials plotting against his successor Ashurbanipal, his younger son, or becoming involved in any revolt whether from a native Assyrian or foreign source⁽²²⁵⁾. A similar loyalty-oath (the so-called Zakutu-oath) was imposed by the Queen-mother upon Shamash-shum-ukin, Shamash-metaballit and other officials: *[a]dē-e' ša^{MI} za-ku-u-te MI+KUR ša^I (d) XXX [PAP^{MEŠ} eri-ba] [ummi' ša] I aššur-PAP-aš XX KUR aššur^{KI} TA I. d GIŠ.NU₄ -MU-[gi]-na ŠEŠ ta-li-me-šú TA I d GIŠ.NU₄.UG₅ GATI.LÁ ù ri-hi-fe PAP^{MEŠ} -šú TA NUMUN LUGAL.TA LÚ GAL^{MEŠ} LÚ NAM^{MEŠ} LÚ ša-ak-ni LÚ SAG^{MEŠ} LÚ DU.IGI TA LÚ za k-ke-e ù LÚ-tu KUR gab-bu TA DUMU^{MEŠ} KUR aššur LÚ.KAL.u LÚ GURUŠ MÍ* (226)

. It seems that this oath had been made shortly after Esarhaddon's death, or soon after Shamash-shum-ukin's revolt in Babylon⁽²²⁷⁾ if she was still alive. The queen-mother came up with this loyalty-oath in order to confirm Esarhaddon's *adû* and to prevent any act of disloyalty, but in spite of this the civil war broke out.

The term *adû* frequently occurs in the royal correspondence, indicating that in some Assyrian territories the governors were entitled to make *adû* contracts on behalf of the Assyrian king, although this was only possible after obtaining a specific royal order: *šabē^{MEŠ} mārē^{MEŠ} -šunu u aššātīšunu adi ilāni^{MEŠ} -šunu ana libbi adē ša šarri bēlīya lirubū? u anāku ina šipirti ša šarri bēlīya^{LU} šibūtu kī illiku ana libbi adē ša šarri bēlīya ina^{KUR} babilī^{KI} iterbū.* (228) 'Let these people, their sons and their wives together with their gods enter into (the ceremonies of) the oath of the king, my lord, but I (shall enter into it) in accord with the message of the king, my lord, when the elders come and take the oath of the king, my lord, in Babylon.'

This oath also extended to the new Assyrian appointee Ishtar-shum-eresh, who wrote to Ashur banipal saying: *[LÚ] tupšarrē^{MEŠ} LÚ bārē^{MEŠ} LÚ mašmaššē^{MEŠ} [LÚ] azē^{MEŠ} LÚ dāgil iṣṣurātē^{MEŠ} manzaz ekālli ašib āli^{ITI} nisannu ūmu 16^{KAM} ina libbi adē^{errubū} (229).* Similarly, he reported to Esarhaddon: *LU tupšarrē^{MEŠ} mārē^{MEŠ} URU nin[nua^{KI}] URU kalzi-āya^{URU} arbīlāy[a] ana adē^{errubū} (230).*

The latter two examples may indicate that the *adû*-oath is part of any official oath, without referring to a vassal treaty. Any high-ranking official would use it for his new appointment.

iv. The political marriage

Another way of controlling provincial territories was by political marriages, the terms of which were specified in the treaties imposed upon subject kingdoms.

The Synchronistic History shows that the Assyrian royal family had gained control over Babylon by this means as early as 1360-1330 BC. Karahardash, a son of the Assyrian queen Muballit-Sherua, a daughter of Ashur-uballit, became king of Babylon. He was killed by Kassite rebels, who appointed Nazi-bugash, a *mār la mamman*, as ruler over Babylon. This caused the grand-father, Ashur-uballit, to march against Babylon, where he killed Nazi-bugash and put Kurigalzu II, a younger son of Burnaburiash, on the throne⁽²³²⁾. There is some confusion over the names of some participants, which are different in Chronicle P. This matter has been exhaustive-

ly discussed by Grayson⁽²³³⁾, but it may be worth noting, that unless there is some scribal error, only additional information from native sources will solve the problem.

The Synchronistic History and Chronicle prove the importance of the Assyrian royal harem during the MA period in Babylonia. There are several references to political marriages, which normally took place after any hostilities had ceased and relations between the two countries were normalized. Ashur-bel-kala had friendly relations (*sulummu*) with Marduk-shapik-zeri, the king of Babylon. When the latter died, Adad-apla-iddina, son of Esagil-shaduni, became king and 'Ashur-bel-kala, king of Assyria, married the daughter of Adad-apla-iddina, king of Babylon (and) took (her) with her vast dowry to Assyria. The people of Assyria (and) Babylonia were joined together.'⁽²³⁴⁾

A similar arrangement in NA-times was made between Adad-nerari II and Nabu-shum-ukin, king of Babylon, for it seems that they exchanged their daughters to become each other's wives: *I^d adad-nērāri šar₄ K[UR] aššur itti [I]^d nabû-šum-išku^{u[n]} šār [KUR] kar [duniaš imt]ahiš dab-
dašū iš[kun]..mārātī^{<MEŠ>} šunu ana ahameš id[dinū]*⁽²³⁵⁾.

Alternatively, the king of Assyria could give his own daughter to a foreign ruler. Sargon II for example, gave his daughter Ahat-abiša to Ambaris, ruler of Tabal, for a wife: *I^{ambaris} KUR tabalāya ina GIS^{kussi} I^{hulli} abišu ušešibšuma binti itti KUR hilakki la mišir abišu addinšuma urappiš matsu*⁽²³⁶⁾.

It could also happen that the Assyrian king married the daughter of a foreign sovereign. Kati, ruler of Que, for instance, presented his daughter to Shalmaneser III. *I^{kati} LU^{nakru} MEŠ šabšu ina URU pahiri āl šarrūtišu ēsiršu melammē bēlūtīya ishupūšuma mārātsu itti nuduniša ana URU kalhi ūbla šēpē^{II}-ya išbat*⁽²³⁷⁾. As a result of this union Shalmanesar III allowed him to remain ruler of Que, although he had rebelled against the Assyrian king in 833 BC⁽²³⁸⁾. A year later however, Shalmaneser III appointed Kirri, a brother of Kati, as the ruler⁽²³⁹⁾.

This type of arrangement was also common during Ashurbanipal's reign. He describes the women performing *M^I abra-
kkutu*, they were usually presented with their dowry⁽²⁴⁰⁾.

These unions need not be regarded as proper royal marriages, but they furthered friendly relations between the king and the respective parent, who had an interest in keeping peace with Assyria.

In a way, all these types of marital relationships could be considered as peaceful methods of controlling various rulers of dependent or independent territories, and ensuring Assyrian influence and authority in the region concerned.

v. Assyrian appointees⁽²⁴¹⁾ as provincial governors.

It has not hitherto been noticed that, when all other previously mentioned methods failed, there was no other alternative for the Assyrian king except to control the area concerned through a direct appointee. The phrase: ^{LÚ}šūt-rēšīya ^{LÚ}bēl-pāhete elišunu aškun/apqid⁽²⁴²⁾ has therefore to be considered now as denoting the primary establishment of the region concerned as a province. This phrase was first used by Tiglath-pileser III, apparently as a new means of establishing control. He reorganized the conquered territory (ana ēššūti ašbatu), bringing it into the Assyrian administrative and territorial framework designated as 'provinces' (pāhūte^{MEŠ}), directly annexing them to the Assyrian border: ana mišir mātiya uraddi/utirra. He was the first to appoint an Assyrian provincial governor (^{LÚ}bēl-pāhete) therein, and probably for reasons of greater efficiency subdivided them to prevent too much power accumulating in the hand of any one senior official. The king made the lesser officials responsible both to senior governors and to himself, thus maintaining a system of immediate checks. By the institution of staging-posts (bīt-mardīti)⁽²⁴³⁾, and possibly kallū⁽²⁴⁴⁾ he ensured the reception of regular reports from his distant governors. To sustain these newly established provinces, his policy required the deportation of any dissident elements and the establishment within foreign areas of settlements to serve as an additional point of control. The first establishment of an Assyrian province described with the phrase of appointment quoted above was Kar-Aššur in Til-kamri (called Humut by its native peoples): ina eli til-kamri ša

URU humut iqabbūšuni ālu epuš URU kar-aššur šumšu abbi
 nišē^{MEŠ} mātāti kišitti qāta^{II} ya ina libbi ušēšib LÚ šūt-
 rēšiya ina muhhi aškun⁽²⁴⁹⁾. In the summary of his

seventeenth year of rule Tiglath-pileser III has given more details including the names of the Aramean tribes and towns within it. He also specifically designated the Assyrian appointee there as: LÚ šūt-rēšiya LÚ bēl-pāhēte (elišunu aškun) (246). This was the only Assyrian province which was established in the south (in 745 BC). Thereafter the only reference to Kar-Aššur occurs in a list of 145 weavers (išparu) among eight place-names⁽²⁴⁷⁾. If this list follows a geographical order, as is likely, it is possible to locate Kar-Aššur somewhere between Arrapha and Lahiru.

Tiglath-pileser followed this up by deporting some people from towns and tribes within this province to settle them in the northern provinces: [nišē^{MEŠ} da]dmi šuātunu ša ašlula [...ina pān pāhut] LÚ turtāni pān pāhut LÚ nāgir ekālli pān pāhut LÚ rab-šā[qi pān pāhut] KUR barhalziya pān pāhut KUR mazamua [...] ušēšib. (248).

In the following year Tiglath-pileser rebuilt the town of Nikur⁽²⁴⁹⁾, settled people there and set his official as the LÚ bēl-pāhēte over them⁽²⁵⁰⁾. In the same year he established another province east of the Tigris and annexed it to the Assyrian border. This province is comprised of various tribes and lands: KUR namri KUR bīt-sangibuti KUR bīt-hamban KUR sumurzu KUR bīt-barrua KUR bīt-zualzaš [KUR bīt] matti URU niqqu ša umlliyaš KUR bīt-taranzaya KUR parsua KUR bīt-zatti KUR bīt-abdadani KUR bīt-kapsi KUR bīt-sangi KUR bīt-tazzaki URU bīt-dištar [URU za]kruti ša KUR mādaya dannūti ana mišir KUR aššur utirra ālāni^{MEŠ} ni ša qirbišun ana eššūti epuš^{uš} GIŠ kakki aššur bēliya ina libbi armi nišē^{MEŠ} mātāti kišitti qāte^{II} ya ina libbi ušēšib [LÚ] šūt-rēšiya LÚ bēl-pāhēte^{MEŠ} elišunu aškun⁽²⁵¹⁾. The second slab from Nimrud (B.M. DT3) (728 BC) shows that there are eight place-names omitted from this list i.e. Namri, Bit-zatti, Bit-Abdani, Bit-Sangi, Bit-Tazzakki, Tikrakki, Bit-ishtar, Silzahi⁽²⁵²⁾, while the first slab from Nimrud contains references to 2 Assyrian governors being appointed in this east-Tigris province: 2 LÚ šūt-rēšiya LÚ bēl-pāhēte^{MEŠ} elišun aškun⁽²⁵³⁾.

After his third year Tiglath-pileser swiftly broke

the power of Urarṭu and its allies in Syria in a series of campaigns⁽²⁵⁴⁾. He conquered Arpad and 'annexed it to the Assyrian border' thus making it an Assyrian province in 740 BC⁽²⁵⁵⁾. In 738 BC he conquered Kullania (Kinalia), which he describes as the royal city of Tutammu of Unqi. He rebuilt that city and made it the centre of an Assyrian province: *URU kinalia ana eššūti ašbat.. LÚ šūt-rēšīya LÚ bēl-pāhete elišunu aškun*⁽²⁵⁶⁾. In the same year Tiglath-pileser defeated Azriyau of Yaudi, who is now identified not to be Azariah of Judah⁽²⁵⁷⁾ and his allies who represented the nineteen districts of Hamath. These he then 'annexed to the Assyrian border' and appointed his *LÚ bēl-pāhete* over them. This was followed by the deportation of 30,000 people from the Hamath area, who were settled in KU(XXX). A further 1,223 were moved to Ulluba⁽²⁵⁸⁾. The latter location was probably the new town Ashur-iqiša which Tiglath-pileser had built in the land of Ullubu which was destined to become the capital of the NA province of that region⁽²⁵⁹⁾. In this way Assyria gained complete control of north Syria from where it was able to dominate the city-states of southern Syria. This may be confirmed by his claim to have received their ruler's tribute shortly before his ninth year⁽²⁶⁰⁾. Following these campaigns, the cities Šimirra, Arqa, Usnu and Sianu were made Assyrian province in 738 BC⁽²⁶¹⁾. Oded correctly argued that Šimirra should be considered as the capital of the province of that name on the Phoenician coast, since it is mentioned in numerous NA documents and texts from the period of Tiglath-pileser and later. Its borders touched the region of Byblos and Mount Saua⁽²⁶²⁾. In another fragmentary inscription dated from 734-2 BC, Tiglath-pileser states that this coastal province was put under the control of his six(?) provincial governors⁽²⁶³⁾. In the same text he claims to have annexed Kashpuna, Gal'za, Abilakka of Bit-Humri to the Assyrian border and to have appointed his official

^{LÚ}bēl-pāhete over them⁽²⁶⁴⁾. According to Oded Kashpuna is mentioned in ND 400,8 which relates the events of the year 734 BC and which states that Kashpuna was under the authority of the city-governor of Šimirra. In the text K 2649 Kashpuna was annexed to the province of Šimirra about 734-2 BC⁽²⁶⁶⁾. Damascus (Bit-Haza'el) was also put under the control of an Assyrian appointee⁽²⁶⁷⁾. The only surviving vassal city-states were Tyre and Sidon. Hiram of Tyre paid tribute to save his city from absorption into the Assyrian provinces⁽²⁶⁸⁾ and his successors did the same⁽²⁶⁹⁾.

The death of Tiglath-pileser III in 727 BC was an opportunity for widespread rebellion in Syria led by Luli of Sidon⁽²⁷⁰⁾. The weakness of Damascus and Samaria at that time enabled the southern city-states of Judah, Moab and Ammon to extend their influence⁽²⁷¹⁾.

The extent and number of provinces created in Syria-Palestine is open to question. According to Forrer

Tiglath-pileser established three immediately after the campaign of 734-2 BC, Qarnini, Haurina and Gal'aza⁽²⁷²⁾.

Oded suggests that at least three other administrative districts were established at this time, Taba'el, Gidir and Hammat⁽²⁷³⁾, which is very likely.

Sargon II followed the same method('my official, the provincial-governor, I appointed over them'). He captured Samaria in 721 BC and immediately incorporated it into the NA provincial system by appointing his official (^{LÚ}šakin-māti) there⁽²⁷⁴⁾. In his annals Sargon tells how he settled captives from Arab tribes in Samaria in 715-4 BC⁽²⁷⁵⁾. In 717 BC Pisiri of Carchemish rebelled against Sargon. The consequence was the annexation of Carchemish into Assyrian control⁽²⁷⁶⁾. In a Nimrud inscription he refers to his appointed official as ^{LÚ}bēl-pāhete⁽²⁷⁷⁾. It is possible that the land of Parsua(š) was made an Assyrian province as early as Sargon's first regnal year because he was campaigning there at that time. There is, however, no reference to this directly in his inscriptions, but in later texts he states that he had extended this area by six towns

of the land of Niksama, adding them to the 'province of Parsuaš' (715 BC): $\bar{a}l\bar{a}ni^{ME\check{S}}\check{s}u\bar{a}tum\ eli\ p\bar{i}hat^{KUR}parsua\check{s}$ uraddi (278). It seems that this province was governed by the $LU\check{s}akin-m\bar{a}ti$ whose authority was extended further by Sargon in 714 BC to cover Zizi of Appatar and Zalaya of Kitpati, the city rulers of Gizilbundu. This took place in Zirdakka, when he received tribute from them; he appointed his $LU\check{g}\bar{e}pu$ official over them. They acted as Assyrian advisors in the manner of Ba'al of Tyre (279). This may show that two methods of Assyrian control could be used simultaneously. Also in 715 BC Sargon created a new province with its capital at Kar-Ninurta. The native name was $URU\check{k}\bar{i}\check{s}e\check{s}im$ under the rule of Bel-šar-ušur. Then he 'added the territory of Bit-Sagbat, Bit-hirmami and Bit-umargi, the towns of Kilambati and Armangu to this new province' (280). The only other source mentioning this province shows that Sargon put a further six neighbouring towns under his jurisdiction (281). Similarly, the city of Harhar, which became the capital of a new province under an Assyrian appointee following the revolt of its people against the loyal ruler Kibaba, had its name changed to Kar-šarrukin, and another six adjoining districts were added to it (282). In his annals for the same year Sargon mentions that he reorganized and re-named other towns: $URU\check{k}\bar{i}\check{s}e\check{s}lu\ URU\check{k}indau\ URU\check{b}\bar{i}t-bagia\ URU\check{z}aria\ alme\ ak\check{s}ud\ ut\bar{i}rma\ ana\ e\check{s}\check{s}\bar{u}ti\ a\check{s}bat\ URU\check{k}\bar{a}r-\hat{d}nab\hat{u}\ URU\check{k}\bar{a}r-\hat{d}s\hat{i}n\ URU\check{k}\bar{a}r-\hat{d}adad\ URU\check{k}\bar{a}r-\hat{d}i\check{s}tar\ \check{s}um\check{s}unu\ abbi$ (283). It is unlikely that these towns were made into an Assyrian province since there is no mention of any Assyrian appointee over them. But in the light of later sources it is possible that they were simply added to the Assyrian provincial system by being placed under the control of neighbouring Assyrian provincial-governors (284). In 714 BC Sargon conquered Mušašir which he claims to be a cohesive administrative district ($nag\hat{u}$). This he 'added to Assyria' by putting it under the command of the $LU\check{n}\bar{a}gir-ekalli$ (285).

In spite of the allegiance through marriage, Ambaris revolted against Sargon and entered into an alliance with Ursa of Urartu and Mita of Muški in 713 BC. They were defeated and another province was created in their territories under the authority of an Assyrian governor ($LU\check{b}\bar{e}l-p\bar{a}he\check{t}e$) (286). Other cities captured, rebuilt, resettled

or made centres of a province by Sargon included Til-Garimmu, and Tahal⁽²⁸⁷⁾. In some cases we know the particulars of events leading to such re-arrangements, as in the case of Mutallu. Mutallu of Bit-Pi'alla rebelled against his father Tarhulara who seems in 712 BC to have been a vassal-ruler under Sargon. When he captured Mutallu, Sargon reorganized the people of Gurgum, rebuilt Bit-pi'alla and appointed his official (^{LÚ}šūt-rēšīya) as governor (^{LÚ}bēl-pāhete) over them⁽²⁸⁸⁾. Three years later, another Mutallu, son of the Kummuhean, who was a vassal-ruler to whom Sargon had given the city Melid(^{URU}meliddu ālašu raba^(a) usadigilu pānuššu) rebelled and withheld his tribute. This caused Sargon to send out his provincial-governors with their troops against him. Mutallu escaped but his family was taken to Kalhu. Sargon reorganized Meliddu and settled there people captured in Bit-Yakin who were put under the control of his provincial-governors and he called him: 'The turtānu of the left': ālu šuā[tu] ana eššūti ašbat niše^{MEŠ KUR} bīt-Iya [kin kišitti qātē^{II}-ya] ina libbi úšēšib ^{LÚ}šūt-rēšīya ^{LÚ}bēl-pāhete elišunu [aškun] ^{LÚ}turtānu bīt šumēli aqbišuma⁽²⁸⁹⁾.

In 712 BC Sargon removed Azuru from the throne of Ashdod and appointed his brother Ahi-miti in his place. The Hittites plotted against him and appointed Yatna to rule over Ashdod, which was an opportunity for Sargon to annex Ashdod into his provincial framework together with Gimtu(Ġath) and Ashdudimmu and he set up his own governor (^{LÚ}bēl-pāhete) over them⁽²⁹⁰⁾.

In his twelfth year of reign Sargon concentrated his military activity on southern Mesopotamia then occupied by the Kaldu and Aramean tribes among whom the Gambulu, Puqudu, Bit-Yakin and Bit-Dakkuri seem to have been dominant. Marduk-apla-iddina gathered the forces of Babylon together with Gambulu tribesmen in the town of Dur-Athara. When Sargon defeated them he rebuilt the city, and appointed his own governor(^{LÚ}bēl-pāhete) over it, changed its name to Dur-Nabu, and settled in it men of Gambulu⁽²⁹¹⁾. The Gambulu occupied the bank of the Uknu river since Sargon describes Ba[x], [PN], Hazael, Hamdanu, Zabidu, Amma-i[.x], Ahhe-iddina, Yasammu as

'8 Sheiks of the Gambulu' controlling the Uknu-river area who brought him their tribute. They were put under the authority of his provincial-governor in Dur-Nabu⁽²⁹²⁾.

The six Gambulean districts and the neighbouring land of Husiqanu, Tarbugati, Tibarsunu, Pašur(?), Hirutu, Hilmu, together with 24 neighbouring towns were 'cut off and added to the Assyrian border'⁽²⁹³⁾. The rest of the Gambulean tribeland was placed under Sargon's ^{LÚ}šakin-māti who was made to extend his authority over the Puqudu tribes on the bank of the river Tupliash and over the Hindaru tribes⁽²⁹⁴⁾.

Further annexation of tribal villages along the Uknu river under the ^{LÚ}šakin-māti of Gambulu was made at this time (710 BC). They were listed as Zame, Abure, Yabtīru, Mahisu, Hilipanu, Dandan, Pattianu, Hayamanu, Gadayati, Amate, Nuhanu, Ama, Hiuru, Sa'lu - '14 fortified towns along the river Uknu I put under the authority of my own governor of Gambulu'⁽²⁹⁵⁾.

Other towns subject to administrative re-organization were Samūna and Babduri in Elam. When Sargon stormed and captured them, he claims to have rebuilt Samūna and changed its name to Bel-iqiša⁽²⁹⁶⁾. Because of the alliance between Aramaean tribes and the Elamites and their disturbances in the area, Sargon finally attempted in 708 BC to separate them with settlers from Kummuhi: [eliš ù šapliš] adi [^{URU} sam'una ^{URU} bab-dūri ^{URU} dur-telete ^{URU} bubê ^{URU} til-dumba [^{ša} mišir ^{KUR} elam]ti ^{KI} miṭharis a [^{bēl} nešē ^{MEŠ} ^{KUR}] ku [mmu]hi ša qereb ^{KUR} hattī ša ina tukult ilāni ^{MEŠ} rabūti [^{bēl} ^{MEŠ} šāikš]udda qātē ^{II} [ya qerebšu ^šarmema] ušēšiba --- [mātu šuātu malmališ] azūzma [ina qātē ^{II}] ^{LÚ}šūt-rēšīya ^{LÚ}šakin-māt babili [^{KI} ù] ^{LÚ}šūt-rēšīya ^{LÚ}šakin-māt [^{LÚ}] gambuli amnu⁽²⁹⁷⁾.

From this it can be shown that the governor over Gambuli and Babylon was the ^{LÚ}šakin-māti and not ^{LÚ}bēl-pāhete. Also Babylonia was then considered an Assyrian province in which the ^{LÚ}šakin-mātiš of Gambuli and Babylon together seem to govern the south of Mesopotamia.

An earlier appointment of ^{LÚ}šakin-māti over Que and the west had been made by Sargon⁽²⁹⁸⁾ who in three raids managed to put down the revolt of these led by Mita of Muški. He was forced to send his ambassador to Sargon,

and pay tribute⁽²⁹⁹⁾. No mention is made by

Sargon of deposing Mita so that it is possible that he kept him on the throne, placing him under control as a vassal directly under Assyria.

East of the Tigris Sargon's main aim was against Talta of Ellipi whom he claims to have subdued. However, Sargon made no reference to any provincial organization, and he appears to have been content to levy tribute on him, as in 713 BC when he states: *I talta ellipaya ardu kanšu šādīd nīr d'aššur*⁽³⁰⁰⁾.

Sargon's death in 705 BC raised the hopes of the vassal states in Syria and Palestine who began to rebel openly. Hezekiah of Judah had strengthened his alliance with Šidqia of Ashkelon⁽³⁰¹⁾ and this was followed by renewed diplomatic contacts between Judah and Egypt⁽³⁰²⁾, perhaps encouraged by the revolt of Marduk-apla-iddina, the ruler of Bīt-Yakīn⁽³⁰³⁾. This kept Sargon's successor Sennacherib occupied in the south of Mesopotamia between 703-702 BC. Meanwhile Assyrian appointees were put in charge over the administrative integration of deported peoples from pacified areas. Thus the fugitives from Ya'subigalla and the Kassites were settled in the towns of Hardišpi and Bit-Kubatti under the jurisdiction of the provincial governor of Arrapha⁽³⁰⁴⁾. In 701 Sennacherib cut off the district of Bit-Barru from the land of Ellipi and annexed it to the Assyrian territory. He then rebuilt the town of Elenza(sh) and considered it his ruling city before adding it to the realm of the provincial governor of Harhar, changing its name to Kar-sin-ahhe-eriba⁽³⁰⁵⁾.

Sennacherib's involvement in the south during these first three years of his reign rendered him unable to take immediate action against the hostile alliance forming in the west. This enabled Hezekiah to strengthen his defences.

In 701 BC however, Sennacherib marched against Syria and Palestine. On his way to Palestine, he replaced the rebellious Luli of Šidon, who had fled to Tub'alu⁽³⁰⁶⁾. This indicates that at this time Šidon was still to be considered an Assyrian vassal-state. He then received tribute from other Assyrian dependents, such as Menahem the Samsimurunean (Samaria), Tub'alu of Šidon, Abdi-Li'ti of Arvad, Urumilki of Gubla (Byblos), Mitinti of Ashdod, Pudu-

ilu of Bit-Amman³⁰⁷, Kamusunabdi of Moab and Ayarammu of Udimmu⁽³⁰⁷⁾. In their progress southwards the Assyrian forces captured Beth-Dagan, Ben-berak and Azar⁽³⁰⁸⁾, towns belonging to Šidqa. This meant that Sennacherib now faced the Egyptian army and its Ethiopian ally on the plain of Elteqeh. He repelled them, capturing Elteqeh itself⁽³⁰⁹⁾. It seems that a wing of the Assyrian army moved against Ekron where its ruler and his nobles had seized Padi, who was the sovereign over Ashkelon and an Assyrian vassal (*bēl adē û māmīt ša KUR aššur^{ki}*), handing him over to Hezekiah of Judah who held him prisoner in Jerusalem⁽³¹⁰⁾. The Assyrians deposed Šidqia of Ashkelon and replaced him with Sharru-lu-dari, the son of Rukubti⁽³¹¹⁾. It is possible that another part of the Assyrian army now conquered Timnah⁽³¹²⁾, whose territory may have bordered on Ekron⁽³¹³⁾. After this military success, the way to Jerusalem was now open to Sennacherib, probably after the fall of Lachish, although that is not mentioned in his annals⁽³¹⁴⁾. He besieged Jerusalem and Hezekiah may have made a temporary payment and released Padi⁽³¹⁵⁾. Subsequently Padi remained as vassal-ruler on the throne of Ekron⁽³¹⁶⁾. Some of the 146 smaller towns and villages in Judah were probably divided among Mitinti of Ashdod, Padi of Ekron and Šilli-bel of Gaza, and possibly Ashkelon also, since all these are later described as vassal-states.

After the overthrow of Abdi-milkuti of Šidon, Esarhaddon also re-organized the conquered territories of Syria and the sea-coast, which was then incorporated into the Assyrian provincial system⁽³¹⁷⁾. He built his own Assyrian out post in 677 BC with the help of the Hattis and the sea-coast rulers. This probably lay somewhere close to the sea-shore and it was called Kar-Esarhaddon: *šarrāni^{MES} KUR hattī û ahi tamtim kalīšunū ina ašri šanīmma āla ušēpišma URU kār^I (d) aššur-ahu-iddina^{na} attibi nibitsu*⁽³¹⁸⁾. This may imply that these rulers were also to be considered as Esarhaddon's vassals at this time. Confirmation of this may be seen in another text which states that in 676 BC Esarhaddon built his palace in Nineveh and lists 22 rulers of Syria, the Phoenician 'sea-coast' and Palestine besides Cyprus, who delivered pine and cedars for the work⁽³¹⁹⁾.

It seems that in 677 BC he also established another new Assyrian province near Sidon. He settled the fugitive people of the sea-coast there and 'annexed it to the Assyrian border', under the authority of his ^{LU}bēl pāhete:

URU bīt-šupuri URU s/šikku URU gi) URU inimme URU hildua URU gartimme URU bi'ru URU kilme URU bitirume URU sagu URU ampa URU bīt<I>gisimēya URU birgi) URU gambulu URU dalaime URU isi-himme ālāni^{MEŠ} ni ša limēt URU šidunni ašar ri'itu mašqīti bīt tuklātišu ša ina tukulti^d aššur bēliya ikšudā qātā^{II}ya nišē^{MEŠ} hubut^{GIŠ} qaštīya ša šadē^(e) ū tamtim šīt^d šamaš ina libbi ušēšibma ana mišir^{KUR} aššur utīr nagū šuātu ana eššūte ašbat^{LU} šūt-rēšiya ana^{LU} pāhātuti elīšunu aškun (320). The previous form of vassal status, however, remained during his reign, since some of these rulers had been bound by a treaty-oath (adū); among them Ba'al of Tyre⁽³²¹⁾, who was given the towns Ma'rubbū and Sاریptu⁽³²²⁾, probably in return for his assistance. It seems that Tyre and some other coastal city-states were not incorporated into the NA provincial system. There might have been several reasons for such special treatment: 1) The geographical position of Tyre - being in part on an island - made its military control quite easy without employing large contingents of the Assyrian army; 2) Their rulers might have taken the wise step of submitting to an Assyrian advance in earlier campaigns, thus saving their territory from complete conquest and occupation; 3) These city-states might have been valuable and active commercially to such an extent that the conversion into Assyrian provinces would have impeded their trading capacity, particularly the maritime business. Any change in status quo could have entailed financial loss to the Assyrians as a consequence. 4) The Assyrian kings realized that the partial domination of the west would serve the economic and trading interest of Assyria as well as being a base for further expansion towards Egypt, Meluhha and Cyprus⁽³²³⁾.

Further provincial arrangements by Esarhaddon are referred to in his Letter to Ashur. He claims to have divided the land of Supria into two provinces and to have settled there captured peoples from the sea-coast of the Mediterranean and the Arabian Gulf, setting two of his

officials as governors over them. At the same time he changed the names of several towns: [...] ^{MEŠ}ālāni ^{MEŠ}šātunu ultu ušše^{MEŠ}-šunu adi gabdibb[īšunu...] ša ^{URU}kulimmeri ^{URU}markuha ^{URU}kalzi ^{URU}[...] [...] šumšunu mahra unakkirma ana eššūti azkura nibi[tsun] niše^{MEŠ} hubūt ^{GIŠ}qaštīya ša tamtim elīti šaplīti ina libbi ušēšib mātu šāšu ana sihirti-šā ana 2-šú azūzma 2 ^{LÚ}šūt-rēšīya ana ^{LÚ}pāhātute elišunu aškun (324).

In Egypt Esarhaddon did not attempt to establish any further provinces but contented himself by levying tribute and appointing Assyrian agents or advisors to work alongside native rulers: šarrāni^{MEŠ} ^{LÚ}pāhāte^{MEŠ} ^{LÚ}šaknūte^{MEŠ} ^{LÚ}rab-kāre^{MEŠ} ina muhhi mātātišunu aškun (325). It is very doubtful if these were all Assyrians, since 'rulers' šarrāni are listed among them. These officials, Assyrian or not, acted as agents for the Assyrian king (326).

From Ashurbanipal's annals it seems that he also did not attempt to make any further 'Assyrian' provinces but merely followed his father's method of controlling the existing province.

An unusual instance of disloyalty was by Ba'al of Tyre who was forced to bring his son Yahi-milki into the presence of Ashurbanipal, probably in order to prove his family's loyalty. On the other hand he may have been seeking assurance that the throne of Tyre would pass to his son (327).

The above examples are the only occurrences of phrases which indicate directly the establishment of NA provinces. The provinces and their provincial-governors as ascertained from the texts are listed in Fig.15(p.190) and locations, marked on the map (p.198).

6 Historical survey of the development and expansion of further NA provinces

On the basis of phrases occurring in NA texts which express territorial expansion, there follows a brief chronological survey:

The period of Assyrian weakness during 1055-911 BC has been admirably covered by Grayson⁽³²⁸⁾, with the corresponding years in Babylonia by Brinkman⁽³²⁹⁾.

When Adad-nerari II restored the Assyrian supremacy, further action was required to regain lost territories which was mainly done by recapturing previously held areas. His first attempts were directed to the south of the L.Zab River and the result was a clash with the Babylonians who were then trying to establish their authority beyond their northern border in the Jebel-Hamrin area and south of the L.Zab. Adad-nerari recaptured Arrapha and Lubdu⁽³³⁰⁾. The former was an important garrison town and, for the Assyrians, the key to the control of the hills beyond its eastern border. When the southern border was secured by treaty with the Babylonian king⁽³³¹⁾, Adad-nerari turned to the west of the Tigris which was dominated by Aramean tribesmen⁽³³²⁾. He went north-west to Hanigalbat and captured their ruler who was taken to Assyria⁽³³³⁾. He was then able to dominate the Habur region⁽³³⁴⁾. He claims to have constructed royal depots throughout the area, the purpose of which was the storage of grain and the stabling of horses⁽³³⁵⁾ like other kings. This might show the precise administrative structure established there by Adad-nerari.. Such amassing of horses and supplies could have either been undertaken for the maintenance of further campaigns⁽³³⁶⁾ or it was simply part of a programme of agricultural restoration after years of neglect under the king's predecessors⁽³³⁷⁾. Such royal depots were later used as garrison-centres or as tax and tribute collection points to which local vassals could render their dues.

Tukulti-Ninurta II apparently succeeded in holding those recaptured regions. He spent his first four years in

keeping the rulers of Na'iri⁽³³⁸⁾ at bay and pacifying the area along the Euphrates and the Habur valley⁽³³⁹⁾. To the east he controlled the mountain passes into the land of Kirruri⁽³⁴⁰⁾ which lay between the Upper and Lower Zab. He also claims to have built administrative centres for these districts, as had his father, and these were taken to be permanent additions of territory: "to Assyria I added land (and) to its peoples I added peoples": *eli* ^{KUR}*asšur* *māta eli nišē* ^{MEŠ}*ša nišē* ^{MEŠ}*uraddi* ⁽³⁴¹⁾.

Ashur naširpal II, his son, added some new areas to Assyria by first extending control over Kirruri and its neighbouring hills⁽³⁴²⁾. He refers to the erection of his image in a city called Aššur-našir-apli in Mount Eki⁽³⁴³⁾. This may indicate that he renamed an earlier city, since he does not say anything about its construction. He also captured the Maṣamua land (Zagros) and beyond⁽³⁴⁴⁾, where he rebuilt the town of Atlela and called it Dūr-Aššur and emphasized his firm authority over it by building a royal residence there. This may indicate that both these cities, Aššur-našir-apli and Dūr-Aššur, was used as capitals of provinces since 880 BC. According to the Eponym-list, Maṣamua had its own Assyrian provincial governor (*šakin-māti*)⁽³⁴⁶⁾. Being an Assyrian province, it was used to settle the Aramean deportees from Babylonia by Tiglath-pileser III⁽³⁴⁷⁾. In 733 this king sent ^{its} *šakin-māti* Aššur-danninanni against the Medes⁽³⁴⁸⁾. To the west Ashurnāširpal received tribute from the Phoenician coastal city-states⁽³⁴⁹⁾, from Bit-Adini in the Habur-Valley⁽³⁵⁰⁾, and from the city-states of Middle Euphrates after the defeat of the coalition between the Suheans and the Babylonians under Nabu-apla-iddina⁽³⁵¹⁾.

Shalmanesar III continued to consolidate his hold on the west where he reorganized Bit-Adini as an Assyrian province⁽³⁵²⁾. Its centre was probably Til-barsip which he renamed Kar-Šulmanu-ašarid⁽³⁵³⁾ and this became a distinct province under an Assyrian official⁽³⁵⁴⁾. Similar reorganization occurred in Ana-Aššur-utir-ašbat, called by the Hittites Pitru. This town is to located at the source of R. Sagur, probably somewhere opposite Kar-Šulmanu-ašared √.

on the Euphrates, where he settled Assyrians⁽³⁵⁵⁾. Shalmaneser was opposed by a coalition of rulers under Irhulēni of Hamath and Hadad-ezer of Damascus with whom he clashed at Qarqar in 853 BC⁽³⁵⁶⁾. Whatever the actual outcome, it was followed by the extension of Assyrian authority north-westwards from its own border as far as Que⁽³⁵⁷⁾.

He made the Kaldu-Arameans, who dominated most of the south of Babylonia, acknowledged his authority and paid tribute⁽³⁵⁸⁾. By 845 BC he had succeeded in gaining control, albeit temporarily, over Syria⁽³⁵⁹⁾. His last years of military activity were devoted to regaining authority over Urarṭu⁽³⁶⁰⁾. This major period of expansion did not last long because of the great rebellion in the Assyrian homeland in 823 BC which ended with Shalmaneser's death.

His son Shamshi-Adad V was forced initially to concentrate on suppressing the revolt led by his brother Aššur-dāmin-apli, which had support from 27 towns (ie Nineveh, Adia, Shibaniba, Imgur-Enlil, Išpaḫuri, Bit-Šašširi^v, Shimu, Shibhinish, Tāmnuna, Kibshuna, Kurba'il, Ta'idu, Nabulu, Kahat, Ashur, Urukku, Amat, Huzirina, Dur-balaṭ, Dariga, Zaban, Lubdu, Arrapha, Arba'il, together with Amedi, Til-abne and Hindanu)⁽³⁶¹⁾. His first three campaigns were directed to Na'iri and Urarṭu which were brought under control and continued to pay tribute to him⁽³⁶²⁾. He also brought Babylon into submission⁽³⁶³⁾. In the east the Medes started to undermine the Assyrian authority but Shamshi-Adad V managed to put them down⁽³⁶⁴⁾. Finally, he claims to have defeated the coalition of Babylon under Marduk-balaṭsu-iqbi, the Kaldu, Elam and Namri, and so to have controlled the whole of Babylonia by 811 BC⁽³⁶⁵⁾.

Adad-nerari III had received tribute from Mar'i of Aram⁽³⁶⁶⁾, Samaria, Tyre and Sidon by 796 BC. This may indicate the range of his operations in the west⁽³⁶⁷⁾. His main effort was first to subjugate Arpad and Aram⁽³⁶⁸⁾. By 796 BC he moved against Maṣuate⁽³⁶⁹⁾. In fact, neither he, his son Shalmaneser IV, nor his grandson Ashur-nerari V, were able to add any new territory to the Assyrian borders

and they even lost control of areas north and west of Carchemish⁽³⁷⁰⁾.

The ninth and eighth centuries mark a new and important chapter in the Assyrian administrative organization.⁽³⁷¹⁾ Ashurnasirpal II introduced the phrases 'in the land over which I gained dominion, I appointed my governors. They became my vassals'⁽³⁷²⁾. 'My own governor I set over them'⁽³⁷³⁾. These governors were usually natives of the areas concerned, and this may have some historical importance. All the personal appointed by Ashurnasirpal in this way are stated to be members of known Aramean tribes and localities, i.e. Azili of Laqe⁽³⁷⁴⁾, Ilanu of Bit-Zamani, brother of Ammē-Ba'alī⁽³⁷⁵⁾, who had been initially appointed by Tukulti-Ninurta II as has been shown⁽³⁷⁶⁾. It was in the reign of Ashurnasirpal that we have the first designation of the governors of non-Assyrian territories as ^{LÚ}šaknu (^{LÚ}GAR-nu). These include Ilu-ibni who is described as ^{LÚ}šaknu of Suhi when he paid tribute to Tukulti-Ninurta II⁽³⁷⁷⁾, Kudurru ^{LÚ}šaknu of Suhi⁽³⁷⁸⁾ and Hamataya ^{LÚ}šaknu of Suru of Bit-Halupi, who was murdered by his own people, probably because of his loyalty to Ashurnasirpal⁽³⁷⁹⁾. These examples may lead to the conclusion that a native appointee is probably concerned in the following cases:

1) ^IŠamaš-reša-ušur ^{LÚ}šakin ša ^{KUR}suhi ũ ^{KUR}mari⁽³⁸⁰⁾ is known from reliefs dated in his thirteenth regnal year, which indicate that he was independent at least at that time. From Assyrian sources it is known that Suhi paid tribute to Tukulti-Ninurta II and Ashurnasirpal II under its governors Ilu-ibni⁽³⁸¹⁾ and then under his successor Kudurru, who also paid tribute to Ashurnasirpal⁽³⁸²⁾. Marduk-apla-ušur, governor of Suhi, later paid tribute to Shalmaneser III⁽³⁸³⁾. Suhi territory was incorporated into the area controlled by Nergal-ereš between 810-805 BC⁽³⁸⁴⁾. It is also mentioned in an inscription of Shamshi-Adad V as part of western Assyria⁽³⁸⁵⁾. This indicates that Šamaš-reša-ušur probably won independence as the ruler in his capital Gabbari(ni)⁽³⁸⁶⁾ after the reign of Shalmaneser IV, perhaps soon after the death of Nergal-ereš whose own

reign also marked the establishment of similar local self-determination.

2) Such independent movements also occurred with Bel-harran-bel-ušur, the 'palace herald' (^{LÚ}nāgir-ekalli) of Shalmaneser IV and Tiglath-pileser III between 782-727 BC. He served as eponym for the years 741 and 727 BC and his stele record his own building at Dur-bel-harran-bel-ušur (Tell-Abta) ⁽³⁸⁶⁾. Earlier Šamši-ilu, 'commander-in-chief' (^{LÚ}turtānu) and eponym for the years 780, 770 and 752 BC, inscribed two lions which stood at the entrance of Kar-šulmanu-ašarid (Til-Barsip). He mentions no superior ruler or king but inserts his own name and official title with an account of his campaigns against Urartu ⁽³⁸⁷⁾. This is clear evidence of a bid for independence similar to that of Šamaš-reša-ušur of Suhi and Mari. It is possible that they were contemporary with the last years of Šamši-ilu.

3) Further evidence for the existence of independent governors may be seen in the recently discovered statue of Adad-it'i, son of Šamaš-nuri, provincial governor (šakin-māti) of Guzana, Sikani and Zarani. Šamaš-nuri, was also the provincial governor (šakin-māti) of Guzana ⁽³⁸⁸⁾. He also did not mention any superior or overlord. The name of Šamaš-nuri appears as Eponym in 866 BC without any place-name or professional title. According to the order normally followed in the Eponym-lists, Guzana is always listed after Tushhan ⁽³⁸⁹⁾, i.e. in the seventeenth place, under Adad-nērāri III (797 BC), Shalmaneser IV (763 BC), Tiglath-pileser III (727 BC) and Sargon II (706 BC). If this order was strictly followed, Guzana could also have been the place-name of the missing Eponym for 841 BC under Shalmaneser III and of Šamaš-nuri, Eponym for 866 BC under Ashurnasirpal II. If this restoration were allowed, Šamaš-nuri, šakin-māti of Guzana would have been appointed by Ashurnasirpal II as were Azi-ili, Yalanu and Amme-ba'al, also called šaknu. He would then most likely have been a local Aramean or possibly an Assyrian appointee married to an Aramean, who may have named his son with an Aramean name in order to gain popularity. Soon after his death, Adad-it'i might have won his tribal independence and called himself the provincial-governor (šakin-māti) to show his standing as comparable with

preceeding independent provincial-governor. If this were so his statue could be dated as early as the last quarter of the ninth century rather than c 870-808 BC as suggested by Millard⁽³⁹⁰⁾. This accords with the weakness of Assyrian authority at this time following the revolt against Shalmaneser III. In spite of that Guzana was not listed among the rebellious cities⁽³⁹¹⁾.

The emergence of these independent local provincial governors brought pressure on the Assyrian king, who preferred direct and central control over all his realms. This may have been one reason why Tiglath-pileser III sought to reduce the power of certain provincial-governors gradually by the establishment of a new system. This was based on appointing his officials directly as provincial-governors over newly acquired territories: ^{LÚ}šūt-rēšī-^{MES}ja^{LÚ}bēl-pāh^{ate}^{MES}elišunu aškun⁽³⁹²⁾. This is corroborated in that no further stele were erected thereafter in Aššur or elsewhere by any Assyrian provincial-governors, commander-in-chiefs (turtānu), palace-herald (nāgir-ekalli), rab-šāqī[^] or abarakku⁽³⁹³⁾. Nevertheless, the provinces of these officials continued to be so named. Further confirmation is to be found in the Eponym-lists⁽³⁹⁴⁾ and in Tiglath-pileser III's annals, that he enlarged the rab-šāqī[^] provinces: ^{URU}enu ^{URU}sassu ^{URU}lubba ^{URU}luqi ^{URU}šimirra ^{URU}ušurnu ^{URU}uzurra ^{URU}anibi ^{URU}kitbūla ^{KUR}birdašu šadī[^]ina eli pāhūt ^{LÚ}rab-šāqī[^]uraddi⁽³⁹⁵⁾. He made similar extensions to the province of the turtānu and of Na'iri by adding territory and fortresses taken from Urartu to them: ^{URU}quta ^{URU}urra ^{URU}arana ^{URU}taba ^{URU}ullia adi ^{ID}purattu mišir ^{URU}qilissi ^{URU}izzeda ^{URU}dinabli ^{URU}abbissa ^{URU}hārbissinna ^{URU}tasa ^{KUR}enzi ^{URU}anganu ^{URU}benzu birāte ša ^{KUR}urartu ^{ID}kallma nārušu akšud ana mišir ^{KUR}aššur utira ina eli pāhūt pāt ^{LÚ}turtāni ū pāhūt ^{KUR}na'iri uraddi⁽³⁹⁶⁾. This shows that these two provinces were adjacent and both adjoined Urartean regions. The province of Na'iri itself was put under a šakin-māti⁽³⁹⁷⁾. It is probable that Shalmaneser III had formed this province in 838 BC as shown by the Eponym-Lists⁽³⁹⁸⁾. In 736/5 BC Na'iri was again extended by Tiglath-pileser III to include

the towns of Niqqu of Tubliash, Hista, Harabisina, Barbaz and Tasa as far as the R.Ulurush⁽³⁹⁹⁾. Another Assyrian provincial-governor(*šakin-māti*)was given Lullume and was required to campaign against Babylonian border fortresses⁽⁴⁰⁰⁾. Later, Sargon II extended this provincial-governor's authority as far as the lands of Habhu, Karalla and Namri⁽⁴⁰¹⁾. The provincial-governor of Arrapha also had his authority further extended by Tiglath-pileser III towards the south, incorporating the Elamite district:
^{LU}puqudu ^{šua}tu ^{URU}lahiri ^{ša} idbina ^{URU}hilimmu ^{URU}pillutu
^{ša} paṭṭi ^{KUR}elaṃti ana mišir ^{KUR}aššur utirra^{ra} ina qāte^{II}
^{LU}šūt-rēšiya ^{LU}šakin-māt ^{URU}arrapha amnu⁽⁴⁰²⁾. While

Sennacherib in his second campaign against the Kassites widened the sphere of influence of his official ^{LU}bēl-pāhete^{URU}arrapha towards Hardishpi and Bit-Kubatti after he had settled fugitive Kassites there⁽⁴⁰³⁾. This may show that not only the bēl-pāhete as provincial-governor played an important role in Tiglath-pileser's administrative organization but the *šakin-māti* also.

It is possible that Tu'imme was also made an Assyrian province by Tiglath-pileser in 738 BC without any specific reference to an Assyrian appointee, although the office was simply described as *pāhutu(m)* for here he settled captives from the Kuteans and Bīt-Sangibuti⁽⁴⁰⁴⁾. If this was so then Bahianu of Bīt-Ištar, which was similarly called *pāhutu(m)* is to be considered an Assyrian province and Tiglath-pileser set up an inscription there in 736/5 BC.⁽⁴⁰⁵⁾ Sennacherib claims that he recaptured Bit-Ha'iri and Rasa, towns on the border of Assyria, which the Elamites had seized during his father's reign and that he placed under the ^{LU}rab-^{URU}halṣu dēri⁽⁴⁰⁶⁾. This may show that Der was used for strategic purposes rather than for permanent administration because the area is very close to the Elamite border and was a site of frequent hostile action⁽⁴⁰⁷⁾.

It seems that neither Esarhaddon nor Ashurbanipal were in favour of establishing any further provinces and relied solely on keeping those founded earlier. They both placed increasing reliance on a policy of making directly dependent vassals.

This chapter has sought to identify factors which may indicate the presence of a 'province' and to provide the background against which the holders of appointments in them may be studied.

Chronological survey of the NA provinces.

(for references see Figs. 15; 8,8*; 13, 13*;14)

Name of province	Adn.II	Anp.II	Šal.III	Adn.III	Tp.III	Sg.II	Senn.	Es.	Abp.
1.Abarakku			x	x	x	x	x	x	x
2. Abilakku					x				
3. Akkad									x
4. Alihu									x
5. Alzi						x			
6. Omitted		x	x	x					
7. Amedi				x	x	x	x	x	x
8. Arba'il	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
9. Ammaraliu						x			
10.Arpād				x	x	x	x	x	x
11. Arrapha	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
12.Arzuhina			x	x	x	x	x	x	x
13.Asduda									x
14.Aššur	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
15.Aššur-iqiša					x				
16.Babil						x			x
17.Balaṭu									x
18.Barhalza					x	x	x	x	x
19. Birtu								x	
20.Bit-ešši									x
21.Bit-Kari									x
22.Bit-Nayalani									x
23.Bummu/Abume									x
24.Deri						x		x	x
25.Dimašqa					x	x	x	x	x
26.Diqukina								x	
27.Dur-Nabu(Dur-athar)						x			
28.Dur-Sennacherib							x		
29.Dur- " -ešši							x		
30.Dur-šarrukin						x	x	x	x
31.Gal'aza(Bit-Humri)					x				
32.Gambulu(Uknu-river)						x			x
33.Gargamiš						x	x	x	x
34. Gurgum(Marqasa)						x			

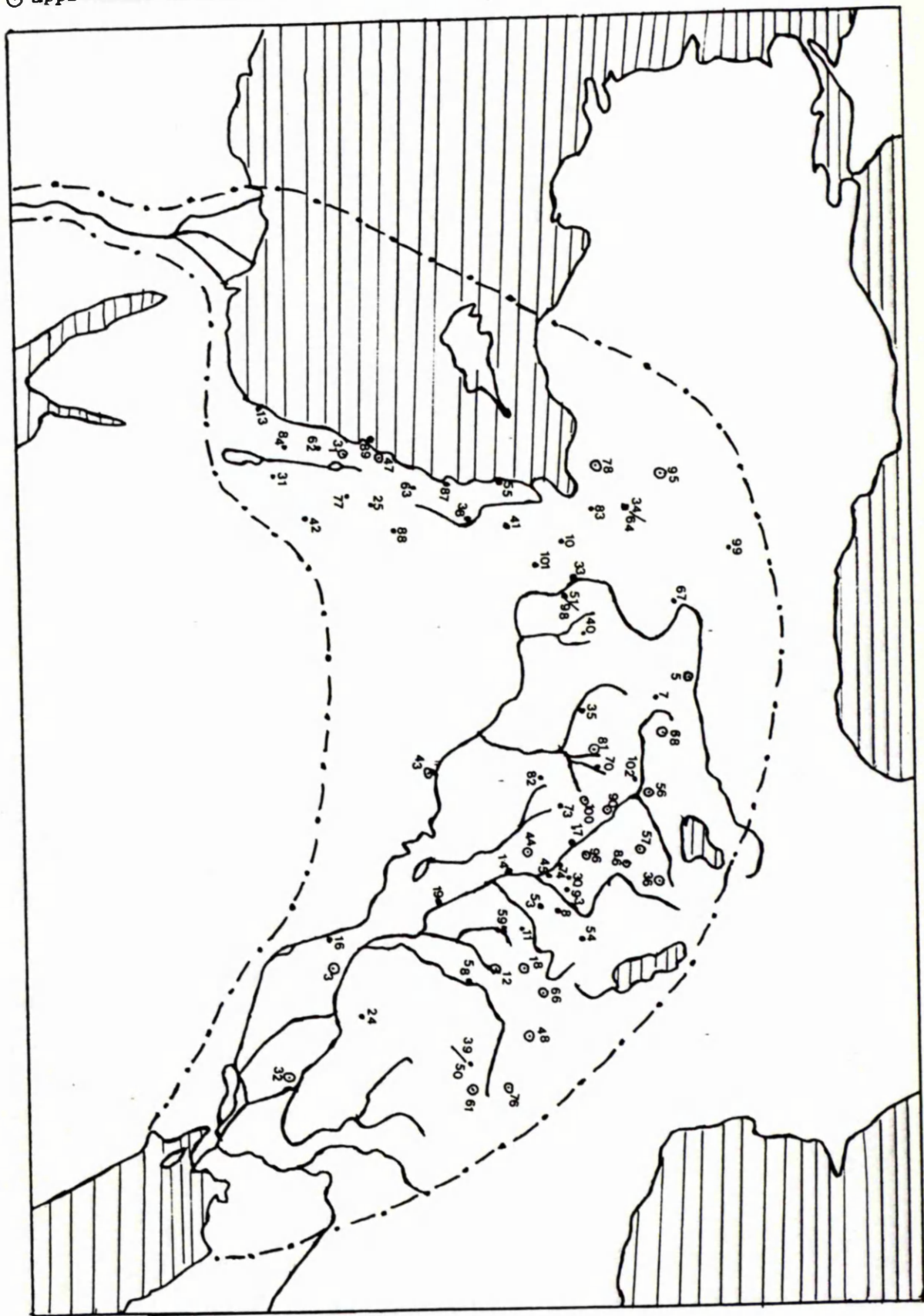
Adn. II Anp. II [✓]Sal. III Adn. III Tp. III Sg. II Senn. Es. Abp.

35. Guzana		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
36. Halṣu						x			
37. Halzi-adbar						x	x		
38. Hamath				x		x			
39. Harhar (K. ṣarruken)						x	x		
40. Harran						x			x
41. Hatarikka				x			x		
42. Haurina									x
43. Hindan									x
44. Isana				x		x	x	x	
45. Kalhu		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
46. K. Aššur (Til-kamri)					x				
47. K. Aššur-aha-iddina								x	
48. K. Ninurta (Kešisim)						x			
49. K. Sen. ahhe-eriba (Elenzaš)							x		
50. K. ṣarruken (Harhar)						x	x		
51. K. Šulmanu-asāred (T. Barsip)			x						
52. Kašpuna					x	x			
53. Kilizu	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
54. Kirruri			x	x	x	x	x	x	x
55. Kullania (Unqi)				x					x
56. Kulmera									x
57. Kurba'il				x			x		x
58. Lahiru	x						x	x	x
59. Lubdu	x								x
60. Lullumu (Mazamua ?)					x				
61. Madaya						x			
62. Magiddu									x
63. Maṣuate				x [?]	x		x		
64. Marqasa (Gurgum)						x	x		x
65. mān-šarri									x
66. Mazamua (Lullumu)			x	x	x	x	x	x	x
67. Meliddu						x			
68. Na'iri (Amedi?)			x		x				
69. Nagir-ekalli		x [?]	x	x	x	x			
70. Naṣibina	x [?]	x	x	x	x	x			
71. Nayalani									x
72. Nikur					x	x			

Adn.II Anp.II Šal.III AdnIII Tp.III Sg.II Senn. Es. Abp.

73.Nimit-Ištar			x			x			
74.Ninua	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
75.Nuhubaya						x		x [?]	
76.Parsuaš						x			
77.Qamina						x			x [?]
78.Que						x		x	x
79.Rab-šāqī [^]	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
80.Rab-ša-reši ⁽⁴⁰⁸⁾				x					
81.Raḡmāt			x	x					
82.Rašappa			x	x	x	x	x	x	x
83.Sam'al							x		
84.Samerina						x	x		x
85.Sapirete		x							
86.Si'ime					x	x			x
87.Šimīrra								x	x
88.Šupite						x		x	
89.Šurri									x
90.Šahuppa								x	
91.Šamaš-našir								x	
92.Šattera								x	
93.Šibaniba				x					
94.Šibhiniš				x					
95.Tabal						x			
96.Talmusi				x		x	x	x	
97.Tamunna				x			x	x	
98.Til-Barsip(k.šul.-ašared)					x [?]	x	x		
99.Til-Garimmu						x			
100.Tille				x	x	x		x	
101.Til - Turi									x
102.Tušan		x	x		x	x		x	

Neo-Assyrian Provinces and Maximum Control Claimed.
 (Nos refer to names given in Fig. 15).
 ○ approximat location .



Notes to Chapter I

1. AB.
2. Provinz.
3. see note 17 below.
4. RCAE I-IV.
5. R.Pfeiffer, State Letters of Assyria (New Haven 1935).
6. ARU.
7. ARI I-II.
8. Asarh.
9. CAH I/2 417ff.
10. J.R.Kupper, 'Un Gouvernement Provincial dans le Royaume de Mari', RA XLI (1947) 149-183; G.Dossin (et.al.), Archives Royales de Mari I-IV; XIV.
11. JNES XXX (1971) 186-217; cf. J.Safren, 'New evidence for the Title of the Provincial Governor at Mari', HUCA L (1979) 1-15; M.Gallery, 'The Office of the *šatammu* in the Old Babylonian Period', Afo XXVII (1980) 1-36.
12. S.Dalley, C.B.F.Walker and J.D.Hawkins, The Old Babylonian Tablets from Tell-al-Rimah (London 1976).
13. J.Laessøe, Tell Shemshara Tablets (Kopenhagen 1959); Peoples of Ancient Assyria (translated from Danish by F.S.Leigh-Browne; London 1963).
14. D.J.Wiseman, 'Abraham Re-assessed', in A.R.Millard and D.J.Wiseman, Essays on the Patriarchal Narratives (Leicester 1980) 144-149.
15. JESHO VI (1963) 233-242; PKB 296-311.
16. Provinz.
17. M.C.Astór, Assur II (1979) 79-83; J.A.Brinkman, JCS XVI (1969), 83-109, XXV (1973) 89-95; Mesopotamia VII (1979) 223-250; I.Eph'al, WHJP IV (1979) 276-289; A.K.Grayson, BiOr III (1979) 134-145; R.Henshaw, JAOS LXXVII (1967) 517-525; LXXVIII (1968) 461-483; C (1980) 283-305; K.Kessler, WO VIII (1975) 49-63; RA LXXIV (1980) 61-66; UHNM (Wiesbaden 1980); L.D.Levine, Bi.Mes. VII

- (1979)135-151; B.Oded, JNES XXIX (1970) 177-186; ZDPV XC (1974) 38-49; J.Pečirkova, ArOr XLV (1977) 211-228; J.N. Postgate, MARGD (1969); GPA (1973); TCAE (1974); M.T.Larsen(ed.) Power of Propaganda (1979) 193-221; AnSt XXX (1980) 67-76; J.E. Reade, Iraq XXXV (1973) 87-112; Iran XVI (1978) 137-143; RA LXXII (1978) 47-72; 157-180; ZA LXVIII (1978) 251-260; H.W.F.Saggs, Iraq XLII (1980) 79-83.
18. CT XXXI, 30 (d.t.40)
 19. MSL V, 17:126; IX, 151:65c. *pīhatu* is also given as the rendering of another ideogram which also occurs in the lexical series; see MSL I, Tf.2:iii, 46-52, 6:iii-iv, 60; V, 34:321-323. B.Landsberger suggested that the Sumerian *NA₄.KISIB.KI.BI.GAR.RA: ābān₁ kunukpi-ha-ti* means 'document of exchange', while *KI.BI.IN.GAR.RA:pi-ha-tum* means an 'object of exchange' (MSL V, 34).
 20. ARM I, 74:29; XIII, 5 11.
 21. A.Goetze, Or XVI (1947) 245-246; see J.A.Brinkman, PKB 296, n.1940. Landsberger favours short vowel in the first syllable due to the MA form *pāhete* in KAJ 106:5; 109:10 (MSL I, 125-6 and n.3). But this is unlikely; cf. n.24 below.
 22. TCL 17, 44:10.
 23. for references see Fig.4.
 24. The problem concerning the vocalization has led Kinnier-Wilson to write: 'because of some uncertainty the vowels of this word are not indicated as to their possible or probable length' (NWL 12, n.22). However, Johns has discussed the possibility that *pīhatu(m)* *pāhutu* (NA), could be associated with the phrase *i/ana pūhi naši* meaning 'to bear responsibility', and he took the root as *pāhu* (ADD III, 20). But *i/ana pūhi* has other usages as discussed by B.Parker (Iraq XVI (1954) 31; XIX (1957) 126) and J.N.Postgate (FNALD 37). Both suggest that this phrase in legal documents distinguishes a loan and the literal interpretation of *i/ana pūhi* is 'he/they took in exchange'. Cf MSL I, 125, V 34.
 25. W.von Soden, ZA XL (1931) 220-227.
 26. I owe this to J.N.Postgate.

27. cf B.Landsberger, MSL I, 125-135.
28. TCL 7, 46:9-10; F.Thureau-Dangin, 'La Correspondence de Hammurapi avec Šamaš-ḥašir', RA XXI (1924) No.46:9-10; cf TCL.7,70; MSL I, 127:2.
29. O.Schroeder, VS XVI, 1:26,37,40; cf. P.Kraus, MVAG XXXV/II (1949) 49. The writer of this letter complains that the addressee has not told him his error. Since he is now unemployed he cannot pay. Cf MSL I, 127,1.
30. VAB VI, 233: 20.
31. Schroeder, op.cit., 186:r.8. cf MSL I, 127,2.
32. VAB VI, 70:24; 78:12; 81:6,13; cf TCL 7,51:30 (RA XXI (1924)); OECT 3A,33:14; PBS I/II, 12:r.37.
33. A.Ungnad, ZVR XXXVI,123; VAB VI 242:4; 260:12; 264:16.
34. TCL 17, 44:8-11; CTvJ, 35^C:5. cf VAB VI, 80:10.
35. Ungnad ibid. 42:27; cf 123:11; VAB VI 245:4; 260:12; 264:16; MSL I, 125.
36. TCL I, 167 12; VS VI, 60:7 Cf VAB VI, 190:8; YOS II, 133:11
37. VS VII,36 13; H.Ranke, Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania VI (Philadelphia 1906) 23:12; S.Langdon, 'A Babylonian Contract for the Rent of a Garden', JRAS LXI (1934) 558-9:r.11-13. For other examples of similar usages see E.Grant, Cuneiform Documents in the Smith College Library (Hareford 1918) 18,265:7-8; F.M.Böhl, Mededeelingen uit de Leidische Verzameling von Spijkerschrift-Inscripties I (Amsterdam 1933) 26:7; H. de Genouillac, Kish II,2,21:r.8; Schroeder, op.cit. VS XVI,85:14-15; cf:20-22; 193:20; Ungnad, op.cit.53:18, TCL 18,145:11; cf 152:28; YOS III,3:10; VAB VI,193:35.
38. VAB VI, 217:20; TCL 18,17:12.
39. VAB VI 51:20-21.
40. VS VII, 36:13-15. See MSL I, 131. This OB expression *pīḥassu naši* <*pīḥatšu naši* 'to bear responsibility' continued in the MA period, See KAJ 10:9; 59:24; 79:16; 100:23; 132:18; 169:20; 170:22; 224:17; 294:r.2 Cf E.Weidner, Afo XIII (193941) Tf. VII (VAT 8722:12); cf XX (1963) 123 (VAT 9034:12-15); J.J. Finkelstein, JCS VII (1953) 126,11:16. In NUzi texts see HSS 13,

- 169:12, 14; 517:23; 15,1:14,19,24; C.J.Gadd, 'Tablets from Kirkuk', RA XXIII (1926) 160, No.76:16
41. CT VI, 23C,15.
42. CT IV, 37, B.R.4.
43. VS XIII, 23:7-8.
44. Ungnad, op.cit.122:1-2; VAB VI, 236:37-38. Cf VS XVI, 148:27; MSL I. 129:5; CH 256:98.
45. BBSt 3:iii,42; 4:i,3; 5:i,5,IV; 11:i,3,11. F.Thureau-Dangin, RA (1919) 125:i,7; PKB 296-311; JESHO VI (1963) 233-242.
46. T.Jacobsen and S.Lloyd, Sennacherib's Aqueduct at Jerwan. (Chicago 1935); F.Safar, F.Basmachi, 'Sennacherib's Project supplying Arbil with Water', Sumer II (1946) 50-52; J.E. Reade, ZA LXXII (1978) 47-72; 157-180; D.Oates, Studies in the Ancient History of North Iraq (London 1968) 49-52.
47. The lexical reading is *ni-mi-en*, *ni-gi-in*:LÁL+NIGÍN = *na-gu-ú* MSL I, 129, (62); IIJ 141:146; CT XXXV, 6:49; CAD N 1,121b; AHW 712. *ni-mi-en* [LÁL+GIGÍN] = [*na-gu-ú*] (MSL II, 192:iii,62); see also CAD N 1, 121b. The term is always written syllabically and it is used in NA royal inscriptions from Tiglath-pileser III onwards. e.g. Tp.III.I 10:42; 22:130; 30:170,36; 209; 38:230; 44:21; 52:32; 126:r.10,19; Iraq XVIII (1956) 125:19; Sg.II.8:12; 31; 37, 51; 77; 194; 226; cf.168,269,414. KAH II, 141; 170; 192; 213; Sg.II/I (list of all occurrences); Lie.Sg.II 125:48,1; 50:13-14; 448,458. Sem. 26:i.,60;28:ii, 25,28; 37:iv,29; 38:iv,39,44; 55:59; 68:15; 77:21; 78:30; 86:20; 87:25. Asarh.49:iii,12; 56:iv,53; 100,66:24; 108:iii,9; Abp II,20:ii,95,46;v:68, 48:v,77,106;56:VI,78; 66:vii,111,113. ABL 381:6, 463:9; 503:11; ADD 419:5; 451:3; 471:13; 627:5; 972:r.2.
48. Sg.II.8,442 cf. Lie.Sg.II 24:145, 138.
49. Abp.II 50:v, 115; cf R.C.Thompson, The Prisms of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal Found at Nineveh 1927-8 (London 1931), Pl.17 :iv,47.
50. ABL 252 see p.225f.
51. The logographical references are $\acute{A}=q\acute{a}'-a-n-mu$ (MSL II 137:7) and $SI=q\acute{a}'-a-n-mu$ (MSL IX, 131:376).

52. H.W.Saggs, A Study of City Administration in Assyria and Babylonia in the Period 705 to 539 B.C. Based on Published and Unpublished Cuneiform Texts(Unpubl. Ph.D. dissertation University of London 1954) 107-108
53. ADB 8.
54. TCAE 30-31; 33,n.1.
55. ABL 252; Saggs, op.cit. 107-108; see p. 225 f
56. ABL 409:10. See discussion on p. 124 f; 127 f
57. Saggs, op.cit. 108. Urzana, vassal-ruler of Muṣaṣir, is the writer of this letter, See discussion in Chapter II; III,ii
58. TCAE 420; 30-31, 33,n.1. Saggs, op.cit. 109; S.Page, Iraq XXX (1968) 143.
59. Asarh.109:3.25.
60. ABL 1003:13.
61. ADD 472:35; see also ABL 1058:r.5; 1242:r.2,8; 1008:r.6; ADD 361:2=ARU 377; SST 64:r.4.
62. J.Lewy, HUCA XXVII (1956) 44.
63. R.G.Driver and J.C.Miles, The Assyrian Laws (Oxford 1935) 302-305.
64. J.J.Finkelstein, JCS VII (1953) 50, 5:13; E.Weidner, Afo XIII (1939-41) Pl.7; KAJ 169:18; 171:25.
65. ABL 197:r.23-25; 342:r.6-8, 381:11,r.3; 548:r.2-4; 596:4,r.2; Saggs, op.cit. 109-110.
66. ABC 159, n.7.
67. A.Haller, Die Gräber und Gräfte von Assur (Berlin 1953). Aššur-bel-kaka, Ashurnasirpal II, despite refounding a new capital at Kalhu (see p.19). Sennacherib, even though Nineveh was his royal city (KAH I,46-47). At least Ešar-hamt, Esarhaddon's Queen had a citadel there (RLA IV, 486; ADD 1016:r.4).
68. D.J.Wiseman, Unpublished Paper read in the 2nd Symposium on 'Babylon, Aššur:Centres of Ancient Learning', Assur, Babylon and Hamrin in Baghdad (1979) to be published in Sumer.
69. Most of the Assyrian kings claimed to have had repaired the city walls, gates and temples.
70. Stele.

71. See Fig.4;10.
72. See NAT, 41-54.
73. B.Meissner, IAK I (1926) 35, n.4 Cf J.Seidmann, MAOG IX (1953) 40.n.5. Meissner suggested that URU.ŠĀ.URU was the name of old Aššur which in later time was used for the whole of Aššur. This suggestion was accepted by Seidmann, who thought that both names had become synonymous. The name URU.ŠĀ.URU continued to be used during the NA period.
74. See p.161 Fig.15:47. I am grateful to J.N.Postgate who drew my attention to this point.
75. KAH II, 16; ARJ I, 141; T.Baqir, Introduction to the History of Ancient Civilization I (Baghdad 1974) 446-460; 468-487 (Arabic) cf MTWA 35-43.
76. omitted
77. ARI II 718-720; 730-738; Cf 736-738.
78. There are several fragments and clay-cone inscriptions from Nineveh recording this property (see ARI II 791-800, 804-806; 834-836; 843-845.
79. Senn.94-134.
80. See S.Parpola, "Ancient Library records", JNES XLIV(1983), 1-29; A.L.Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia (Chicago 1964) 15ff, 249ff
81. C.J.Gadd, The Fall of Nineveh (London 1923).
82. See Fig.4;10.
83. The name of ^{URU}kalhu (Genitive kalhi) has no logographic writing. From Tiglath-pileser III onwards it is written kāl/kal-ha and less often ka-lah(NAT173). Mod. Tell Nimrud, 35 km south of Nineveh.
84. VAT 16373 E.Weidner, AFO XIII (1939-41) 122; RLA V, 230.
85. H.Freydank, Mittelassyrische Rechtsurkunden und Verwaltungstexte. (Berlin 1976) Nos 5;18;50;51;56;57.
86. Oates, op.cit.42ff.

87. AKA 345-346:ii,131-135; ARI II, 576; RLA V, 320b; J.Reade, Iraq XXVII (1965) 119; J.A.Brinkam, AnSt XLIII (1968) 390.
88. RLA V 320; see also p.20; 47 and n.97 below.
89. ND 2677 ⁴⁴(NL); H.W.Saggs, Iraq XX (1958) 195-6.
90. E.Weidner, AFO VI (1946), No.8.
91. Lie.Sg.II 72:9; ABL 175.
92. see Fig.8, 8*.
93. see GPN.
94. see Fig.15:47.
95. For the various ways of writing the name Dur-[✓]sarrukin (mod.Khorsabad) see WAT 112-114.
96. see Fig.15:32.
97. Waterman argues that it should be^{read} Kar-[✓]sarru-ukin in ABL 503:r.17 (RCAE III, pp.179; 194), against this Kar-[✓]sarrukin is the newly Assyrian name of Harhar in the Ellipi region given by Sargon II when it was annexed to the NA provincial system and with six districts added to its border and then placed under the authority of a *bēl-pāhete* (Sg.II,I.108:68; Lie.Sg.II,16:100), see also p.30 .
98. BBSt 24:19-21, PKB 88, n.460, 114,n.635 .
99. II R 50 .
100. J.N.Strassmaier, Inscripfen von Nabunidus Königs von Babylon 555-538 v.Chr. III-IV (Leipzig 1888) 1024:r.12 ; Inscripfen von Cambyfes, Königs von Babylon 529-521 v.Chr. VIII (Leipzig 1890) 176:6 .
101. Saggs,op.cit.n.52,29-52;N.Jankowska, JESHO XII(1969) 233-282; E.Cassin, 'Heur et Malheur du ḫazannu (Nuzi)', in A.Finet(ed.), Les Pouvoirs Locaux en Mésopotamie et dans les Régions Adjacentes (Bruxelles 1982) 98-117; P.Garelli, 'Les Pouvoirs Locaux en Assyrie', in A.Finet(ed,) op.cit. 76-91 .
102. ARII,157
103. KAH II 84:27-29; Seidmann, op.cit.14; ARI II 420. PKB 177-180. For Arrapha see RLA I, 158, Fig.15,9. For Lahiru see PKB n. 1093; Fig15 :61. For Lubdu see PKB 1096, Fig.15:62 .

104. J.E.Reade, ZA LXVIII (1978) 255.
105. ABC 166-167:iii, 20-21 (chron.21=Synchron.History:iii,20-21), ARI II, 459. See also 222.
106. AKA 5:9; 6:22; 7:34; IAK 60; ARI I, 381; E.Weidner, Afo V (1928-29) 90-40.
107. IAK No.XX. I :7-15; ARI I 381.
108. AKA 33-34:46-49; ARI II 18 cf AKA 35:60-61.
109. Tn.I. 3:39-45; ARI I 693.
110. Tn.I. 2:ii,40 + iii,1; ARI I, 689.
111. Tn.I. 10:iii,45; ARI I, 715. See also Tn.I.27:49. ARI I 773; Tn.I, 32:15. Similarly Tiglath-pileser I, AKA 71:v,29-30; ARI II 31. The same phrase is used of Kadmuhhu, AKA 50:iii, 30-31; ARI II, 19 and of Mušku, KAH II, 7(a); ARI II 66; of Hittite KAH II 68:26-29; ARI II 82.
112. Tn.I 12:iii, 65-67; ARI I 716. After the defeat of Kaštuliaš, king of Babylon, Cf. Tn.I. 30:r.34-39; ARI I 784.
113. Except when Tukulti-Ninurta I states the name of the land of which he became lord (Tn.I.30;28-30; ARI I 783).
114. KAH II 84:99, J.Seidmann, MOAG IX (1972) 28; ARI II,433.
115. Tn.I 27-28:69-85; ARI I 775; cf. Tn.I 4-5:24-37; ARI I 694; Tn.I 8:17-36; ARI I 701.
116. AKA 82-83:vi,39-46; ARI II, 40.
117. KAH II 84:98-99; J.Seidmann, op.cit. 28; ARI II, 433.
118. see p.44;47;49;50
119. Tn.I.4:19-21; ARI I 693; cf Tn.I.14: 19-20; ARI I, 721.
120. AKA 51:30; ARI I 721.
121. AKA 116:3; ARI II 66.
122. AKA 116-117:1-6; ARI II 67-72; 65.
123. KAH II 84:20, Seidmann, op.cit.14; ARI II 420.
124. KAH II 84:34-35; Seidmann. op.cit. 16; ARI II, 422.-
125. KAH II 84,36-39; Seidmann, ibid. 28; ARI II 423.
126. KAH II 84:27-29; Seidmann, ibid.14; ARI II 420; see also PKB

- 177-180.
127. All the NA kings mentioned this phrase in their royal inscriptions.
 128. AKA 62:iv,29-30; ARI II 27.
 129. AKA 49:ii, 5-6; ARI II, 18.
 130. AKA 181:30; ARI II 589.
 131. P.Hulin, Iraq XXV (1963) 53-54:25 cf Šamsi-Adad V (IR 31,8).
 132. Tp.III.II,15:9; Tp.III.I 26:149; cf Sg.II.8:140.
 133. Sg.II, II 65:28, Sg.II.I 102. cf 69:81; Senn.24:i,35; Asarh. 106:31; Abp.II 24:ii,133; 44:v,10.
 134. Asarh.25:24-26 cf, 26:33-34.
 135. Lyon, Sg.II, 14:21.
 136. A.Marzal, JNES XXX (1971) 186-217; M.Gallery, AfO XXVIII (1980) 1-36; N.B.Jankowska, JESHO XII (1969) 233-282; P.Machinist, Assur III (1982) 1-41; see n.17 above.
 137. For the early kings see W.W.Hallo, Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles, a Philologic and Historical Analysis (New Haven 1957).
 138. Layard 95:141-142; E.Michel, WO II (1954-59) 224. See n.241 below.
 139. Layard 95:146-152 + 96:153-156: Michel ibid.224-226. See " " .
 140. Layard 96:154-155; Michel ibid.226.
 141. W.Schramm, BiOr XXVII (1970) 149:24-25; ARI II 467.
 142. see pp. 43 - 54
 143. H. de Genouillac, 'Ancienne Stele de Victoire', RA VII (1910). 153:iii,6-7; ARI I,158.
 144. AKA 384:iii,125; ARI II 584; 195:iii,3-4; ARI II 651.
 145. For example Aššur-bel-kala states: ^{I.d}adad-apla-iddina mār ^Iesaggil-šaduni mār(a)-la-mamman ana šarrū [te] ina muhhišuru iškun - 'He (i.e. Aššur-bel-kala) appointed Adad-apla-iddina, son of Esagil-saduni, son of a nobody, as ruler over the (Babylonians)'. (ABC 165:31-32; ARI I 32:1-3; see ARI I, p.77, n.1). Similarly Aššur-dan II appointed (X)šille to the throne of Kadmuḫhu (E.Weidner, AfO III (1926-29) 159; ARI II, 364). mār-la-mamman(a): The literal interpretation is 'son of a

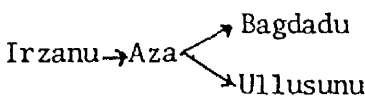
nobody'. It is important to compare this with *la awīlum* 'not a man' (H.Hirsch, *AfO* XXI (1964) 85a) or 'not a gentleman' - one who differs from a nobleman, according to von Soden (AHw 90b.B4); *la mammāna* is a 'nobody' in *atta eṭemmu la mammānana ša qēbira u saqira la tēšû* - 'You ghost, without any (family), who have nobody to bury you and invoke you' (KAR 227:iii,27). The 'nobody' here is one who lacks family especially those who can render for him the cultic rites due to the dead. i.e. he is one who lacks a socially distinguished family. *mār* is doubtless to be taken here in its metaphorical sense as member of the class or category, just as *mār awīlum* denotes anyone who by birth belongs to the class of *awīlum* (F.R.Kraus, *Mesopotamia* II (1973) 69). However, those who were either mentioned in Assyrian Annals, the King List, the Chronicle or Synchronicle, a *mār la-mamman(a)* had different meaning which may be interpreted as 'not from the royal family/blood'. Most of the references are to non-Assyrian persons who may have been chosen by the Assyrian king himself. Thus Ashurnasirpal II claims:

URU[✓] suru[✓] ša bit-hallupe ittabalkat^I hamataya LU[✓] sakrušumu[✓]
 iduku^I ahi-yababa mār la mamman(a) ša ištu bit-adini[✓]
 ubluniši ana šarrūti ana[?] elišumu iškumu (AKA 280:i,75-76: ARI
 II 547, cf 282:i,81). Shalmaneser III calls Haza'al of Damascus a *mār-la-mamman(a)* (KAH I, 30:26, E.Michel, *WO* I (1947-52) 57) and also of Sasi of Surri (Layard 96:153-155; E. Michel *WO* II (1954-59) 226. see note 153). Tiglath-pileser III installed Hulli a *mār-la-mamman(a)* on the throne of Uassurme the Tabalean (Tp.III,II 37:15; Tp.III,I,72; D.J.Wiseman, *Iraq* XVIII (1956) 126:28; 129:28; J.N.Postgate, *Iraq* XXXV (1973) 31. See ns.154; 160; 290 below). The Khorsabad King List states that Aššur-dugul and the named six kings immediately after him were *mār-la-mamman(a)*

- 4 I[✓] aššur-dugul DUMU la mamana
- 5 la EN^{GIS} GUZA 6 MU^{MES} LUGAL-ta DÜ-us[✓]
- 6 ina tarši I[✓] aššur-dugul DUMU la mamana
- 7 I[✓] aššur-DUMU-UŠ-idi I[✓] PAR-ir-d[✓] Sin
- 8 d[✓] Sin-nāmīr I[✓] ibqi-d[✓] 15
- 9 I[✓] d[✓] IM. salulu I[✓] adasi
- 10 6 LUGAL[✓] MES[✓] -ni DUMU la mamana

(J.Gelb, 'Two Assyrian King Lists', JNES XIII (1954) 214). Seventy-nine years later Lullaya was called *mār-la-mamman(a)* in the same king lists. To sum up, it is possible that *mār-la-mammana* is i) not descended from a recognized royal family, ii) a foreigner, iii) in some instances he was a rebel or usurper; iv) it may denote any person who is not politically known to the Assyrians.

146. AKA 285:i,89; ARI II, 457.
147. AKA 353-60:iii, 26-47; ARI II 578-580.
148. AKA 237-239:r.36-42; ARI II 641.
149. Schramm, loc.cit. 149:23-24; ARI II 467, see p. 32 f
150. AKA 378:iii, 105, ARI II 587. Similar disloyalty took place against Ashurnasirpal II by Hullaia, who was installed as vassal-ruler by Tukulti-Ninurta II in the city Halziluha (AKA 290:i,102-103; ARI II, 549).
151. Layard, 92:93-95. E.Michel, WO II (1954-59) 152; G.G.Cameron, Sumer VI (1951) 16:58-63; F.Safar, Sumer VII (1951) 10:33-37.
152. Layard 95:139-146, Michel ibid.222-224.
153. Layard 96:155, Michel ibid.226. See n.145 above
154. Except Hulli of Tabal (Tp.III.II 37:15; Tp.III.I37. ; J.N.Postgate, Iraq XXXV (1973) 31; Tp.III.I:72. See n. 14⁵ above and 163 below). Similar treatment to Rukibti of Ashkelon (Tp.III.II 18a:16; Tp.III.I.38:237).
155. see pp. 43- 54 .
156. Sg.II.II 65:36+66:37; Sg.II.I 104; see Sg.II.II 3:6-7; Sg.II.I, 8:32-33; see n.205 below. The verb *ušibu* should be the subjunctive of the 3rd.pers. of *wašābu* otherwise it is unlikely to be the plural as it is translated by Luckenbill ARAB II 56. The Mannean ruling family therefore, during 716-705, was:



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          Irzanu → Aza → Bagdadu
                      ↘
                      Ullusunu
            
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157. Sg.II, 65:38; Sg.II.I.104.
158. Sg.II.II. 5:5; Sg.II.I 12:57.
159. Lie.Sg.II, 14:87-89 cf Sg.II.II 5:9-10; Sg.II.I 12:61-63;

- Sg.II.II 5:11-12+6:1-2; Sg.II.I.14:66-67; Sg.II.II.68:58,
Sg.II-I.108.
160. see p.30; cf. p.42
161. Lie.Sg.II 16:96-97 cf Sg.II.II.35:2-3; Sg.II.I.14:70-71; Sg.
II.II.6:5-6.
162. Lie,Sg.II.16:97-98 cf Sg.II.II 35:5-6; 6:6-7; Sg.II.I.14-16;
71-72; see n.282 below.
163. Sg. II.II 65:29-30; Sg.II.I 102 cf .Sg.II.II 38:7-8 and
14:1-2; Sg.II.I.28:170-171 cf Lie, Sg.II 32:197-198, see
also p.47 *bintu* here is Ahat-abiša, daughter of Sargon, who
married Ambaris. This is confirmed by ABL 197:r.26-28 in
which she seems to have considerable authority: *egirtu ša*
I. d PA.SU LU GAL.É ša MI NIN.AD-ša TA KUR tabal našuni ina UGU
LUGAL EN-ia ussibila. For further discussion of this
letter see chapter II, p.130 of J.N.Postgate, *Iraq XXXV*
(1973) 31. See ns 145, 157 above and 286 below.
164. Lie, Sg.II,32:199-200 cf Sg.II.II 65:30-31; Sg.II.I 102.
See discussion on p.47
165. Lie, Sg.II,32-34:203-204 cf Sg.II.II 65:32; Sg.II.I 102
166. Lie, Sg.II 38-40:249-253 cf Sg.II.II,17:2-6; Sg.II.I 36:
215-219; cf. Sg.II.II.70:90-94; Sg.II.I,114.
167. Senn.30:ii 47-48.
168. Senn.30:ii,50-60.
169. Senn.30-31:ii,65-66. Rukubti, son of Mitinti was seated on
the throne of Ashkelon by Tiglath-pileser III in 737/6 BC (Tp.
III.II 18(a):16; Tp.III.I,38:237), see n.154 above.
170. Asarh.52:62-70.
171. Abp.II 10,i,90-111, see p. 33 f
172. Abp.II 12:i,118-119.
173. Abp.II 14:ii,5-7.
174. Abp.II 20:ii,88-94; cf. 18:ii,81-87.
175. Abp.II 174:5-10; CT XXXV,48:6-7 (K 1364).
176. see p.23 f
177. AKA 70-71:v,23-32; ARI II,31.

178. W.Schramm, loc.cit.148-149:17-25; ARI II 467, see p.29.
179. AKA 299:12-13; ARI II 551.
180. E.Michel, WO II (1945-49) 228:169-170.
181. III R Pl.8:ii,58.
182. Asarh.56-57:72-77. Layali, a person with this name occurs as
[✓]sa ^{URU}BE.ZU (ABL 839:r.9).
183. Abp.II,14: ii, 8-19, see p. 31.
184. II R 65,56=Tp III,I,82:34; cf III R,10,45=Tp.III i,38:226,
 where *apqid* is used for *aškun* though Rost transliterated
 both verbs as *apqid* and restored ^{KUR}Arubi in Tp.III,140; 240
 which is incorrect since compared with II R 65,56 it shows no
 break in the text.
185. Sg.II.8,12-14:i.70-73.
186. Abp.II,10:i,110-113.
187. Abp.II 8:i,75-77.
188. Abp.II,12:i,121-126.
189. Abp.II,12:i,128-131.
190. see p. 33 f.
191. cf ABL 197;198,1079; see discussion in II, p. 129 f.
192. Asarh.108:6-14, see B.Oded, ZDPV XC (1974) 48.
193. Abp.II 16:ii,32.
194. See n.19₁ above.
195. Senn.35:iii,72+74; 71:37;76:11-12.
196. F.Schmidtke, AO.TU I-II (leiden 1977) 96:i-ii,60-65.
197. Schmidtke, *ibid.* 98-100:ii,1-4; ii,14-16.
198. VTE.
199. Senn.54:54; 57:43; cf 158:22,23,25,27,28; S.Smith, The First
 Campaign of Sennacherib King of Assyria 705-681 B.C (London
 1921) 68:54.
200. AKA 231:16-17; ARI 569. On [✓]sapru te see R.G.Evans, Aspects of
 Diplomacy between Assyria, Babylonia and Persia and their
 Neighbours, Eighth to Fourth Centuries B.C. (unpubl.Ph.D.

- dissertation, University of London. 1982), p.120 n.24.
201. ABC 165:ii 25-32; ARI I 285, see ABC 209; n.145 above.
 202. ABC 165:ii, 32-37; see p.42.
 203. KAH II, 84:109; Seidmann. op.cit.30. ARI II 434. cf E. Weidner, Afo III (1926-29) 156:38-39; ARI II 364.
 204. AKA 280-281:77-79; ARI II 547.
 205. Lie, Sg.II 8:58-59 cf Sg.II 3:6-7, Sg.II 8:32-33; Sg.II.II 65:36-37; Sg.II.I 104. see n.156 above.
 206. Lie, Sg.II 10:72-73 cf Sg.II.II 4:7-8; Sg.II.I.10:46-47.
 207. Senn.31:ii, 73-77.
 208. Senn.32:ii, 14-15.
 209. Senn.33:iii, 19-34.
 210. Asarh.46:44.
 211. Asarh.46;47:52-53.
 212. Asarh.46-47:58-62.
 213. Abp.II, 104:iv, 25-26.
 214. Abp.II 132:vii, 87-88.
 215. Abp.II 136:viii:51-56.
 216. Abp.II 134:viii, 24-27.
 217. Abp.II 134:viii, 37-38.
 218. Abp.II 140:i, 26.
 219. Abp.II 160:25-29.
 220. E.Weidner, Afo VIII (1932) 17-34 cf F.E.Peterson, MVAG III (1898) 228-240.
 221. Weidner, *ibid.* 20:r.1-3.
 222. Asarh.107-108:i, 1-2, r.iii, 15-22; iv, 20 = Weidner *ibid.* 29-34.
 223. VTE 29:i, 2-5.
 224. VTE 31:i, 43-45.
 225. VTE, 33:i, 66-72.
 226. ABL 1239:1-10 (83.1-18, 45+83.1-18, 266). For this influence of Zakutu see J.Nougayrol, 'Asarhaddon et Naqia sur un Bronze

- du Louvre', (AO20. 185), Syria XXXIII (1956) 156-160; H.Lewy, 'Nitokris=Naqi'a', JNES XI (1952) 264-286; VTE 9.
227. ABL 301. This letter from Ashurbanipal to the citizens of Babylonia shows that he tried to convince them that his brother's words were false and 'nothing but wind'. Full discussion and study of this period was made by S.S. Ahmed, Southern Mesopotamia in the Time of Ashurbanipal (Paris 1968).
228. ABL 202:r.10-19.
229. ABL 33:6-14, r.1-3 = LAS 2.
230. ABL 386:6-9 = LAS 1.
231. ABL 384:r.1-6.
232. ABC 156:i, 8'-17' = ARI I, 321-2.
233. ABC 211-212.
234. ABC 165:ii, 23'-37' = ARI II 285 see PKB 137-144.
235. ABC 166:ii, 10-11; 17, ARI II, 459, see ARI II 222.
236. Sg.II.II 65:29-32; Sg.II.I, 102; cf Sg.II.II, 14:1-2; Sg.II.I. 28-30; Lie, Sg.32:194-196; J.N.Postgate, Iraq XXXV (1973) 31. see n.148; 154; 163 above.
237. KAH I 30:iii, 6-8. E.Michel, WO I (1949-52) 58.
238. Layard 94:128-129; E.Michel. loc.cit.II 221.
239. Layard 95:139-140; E.Michel ibid. 222-223.
240. Abp.II, 18:ii, 60-80.
241. The first indication of an Assyrian appointee as a provincial administrator within the Assyrian homeland occurs in a royal inscription of Adad-nerari II, in 909 BC: 'In the sixth day of Kislimu, Eponym of Še'-Assur, provincial-governor of Kilizi, Gabbiya-ana-Aššur, the provincial-governor of Aššur (and) Adad-aha-iddina, the city governor are, the qēpūtu-officials of the quay-wall' - ^{ITI}kislīmu ūmu 6^{KAM} limmu ^Iše'i-aššur šakin-māti ^{URU}kilizi ^Igabbīya-ana -aššur šakin-māti ^{URU}aššur ^Iada-aha-iddina ša muhhi-āli qēpūtu ša kisirte - (KAH II 84: r.19-21; Seidmanh op.cit.40; ARI II, 409-410). The reading of the name Adadaha-iddina has been corrected by K.Grayson

(ARI II 410) from Adad-našir-apli (as in Seidmann, *ibid.*40).

It is of interest that the same king (i.e. Adad-nerari II) has mentioned in his royal inscription that he dispatched his *turtānu* on military tasks outside the Assyrian homeland in 896.BC. 'I stationed there in (ie. Našibina) Aššur-dini-amur, the commander-in-chief' (KAH II 84:64; Seidmann, *ibid.* 24; ARI II,429). Similarly, Shalmaneser III sent Dayan-Aššur, *turtānu* against Bit-Zamani in 831 BC. (Layard 95:141-146; E.Michel, *ibid.*224-226). In 828 BC he ordered him to advance against Hubuškia, Mašaš, Parsu (Layard 96:156-174, Michel, *ibid.* 230). Note also that Dayan-Aššur held the eponymate for 853 BC. Similarly Mutaqqiḥ-Aššur, the *rab-šāqī*, had been ordered by Šamši-Adad V to go into Na'iri in his second campaign (Ir 30:ii,16-21). Tiglath-pileser III also sent his *rab-šāqī* against Tabal (II R 67:r.14; Tp.III.II 37:14; Tp. III.I,72); then against Tyre (II R 67:r.16; Tp.III.II,37:16; Tp.III.I,72).

242. *LU*[✓]*sūt-rēšīya* - 'my eunuch' see PKB 209; P.Garelli, RA LXVIII (1974) 133;135; NWL 13; A.L.Oppenheim, JANES V (1973) 325-334. cf Van Driel, BiOr XXXVIII(1981) 270f.
243. For *bit mardīti* 'road-station', see ABL 415:4-5, 1021:r.4= LAS,294. For *mardītu* as indicating distance between stopping places see ADD 1096:r.5; ABL 408:7, 515:r.4 and 617:7; Weidner, Afo XXI (1964) 43-44. GTWB 105-16; H.W.F.Saggs, Iraq XXI, 176; NWL 57-59; A.L.Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia (Chicago 1964) 119; AOMA, 25-27.
244. For *kallū* 'staging post', see ABL 508:6,19,r.12; ND 2364:4 (NL 62 H.W.F.Saggs, Iraq XXI (1959) 172-3; p.173,n.1.4.
245. Tp.III.II 32:6-7; Tp.III.I.:42; Tp.III.II.34-35:9-11; Tp.III.I,56 cf Tp.III.I.2:8-9.
246. Tp.III,II 35:10-11; Tp.III.I,56.
247. ADD 950:r.7.
248. see n.245-6 above. also MDDNA 67; 135.
249. For the location of Nikkur in Namri (east of the Tigris) see Provinz 89-90.
250. [*URU*] *nikur adi ālāni*^{MES} *ša limētišu ana eššūte eppuš*^{us} *nišē*^{MES} *mātāti kišitti qatē*^{II} *-ya ina libbi ušēšib* *LU*[✓]*sūt-rēšīya* *LU*[✓]*bēl-pāhete elišunu aš kun* (Tp.III.II.9:5-6; Tp.III.I,8:36-37) See ABL 165:r.2; 556:3,r.9.
251. Tp.III.II 36:4-8; Tp.III.I.64:34-38; cf Tp.III.II32:17-19 + 33:1; Tp.III.I 44; BM DT 3 (Tp.III.II.34:20).
252. Tp.III.II.30:1-8; Tp.III.I,50:18-25.
253. Tp.III.II,33:1; Tp.III.I,44:19.
254. J.D.Hawkins, CAH III/II, 410-414.
255. Tp.III,II,14:11-12; Tp.III.I,16-18:100-101; see Saggs, Iraq XVII (1955)144-146. For Arpad see A.Millard. PEQ CV(1970)161-163;ANET 282 NAT 30-31 and Hawkins op.cit. 410. RLA V 227; 445.
256. Tp.III.II,14:11-12; Tp.III.I,14-16:100-101, see K.Kessler, WO VIII (1975) 49-54; Saggs, loc.cit.147. RLA V 227; 445.
257. For Aziryau of Yaudi see H.Tadmor, Scripta Hierosotymitana VIII (1961) 232-271; N. Na'aman, BASOR CCXIV(1974) 36ff; RLA V, 227.

258. Tp.III.II,21:4-12; Tp.III.I,20-22:125-133. see RLA V 227
cf Saggs, loc.cit. 146.
259. *in qerib^{KUR} uljuba ālu eppu^{uš} URU āššur-iqīša abbi LU^{šūt}-
reš^{MEŠ}-ya LU^{bēl}-pāhete ina muhhi āškun* (Tp.III.II,33:
28-29; Tp.III.I,46 cf Tp.III.II,31:12-14; Tp.III.I,52:43-45.
260. Tp.III.II 37:7-12; Tp.III.I,70-72; cf. III R 9,3:50-54 =
Tp. III.II,15:10-12 + 16:1-2. Tp.III.I,26:150-154; H.W.F.
Saggs, Iraq XVII (1955) 145; J.N.Postgate, Iraq XXXV (1973) 28.
261. Tp.III.II 15:6; Tp.III.I,24:146. See K.Kessler, WO VIII
(1975) 57, 61.
262. B.Oded, ZDPV XC (1974) 43. He also refers to ND 400:9.
(D.J.Wiseman, Iraq XIII (1951) 23). More information about
Šimarra is given by the inscription of Shalmaneser V who
was appointed by his father to govern this province (H.
Winckler, 'Bruchstücke von Keilschrifttexten', AOF II (1898)
3-4; H.W.F.Saggs, Iraq XVII (1955) 152 and XXV (1963) 70.
263. III R 10,2:1-5 = Tp.III.II 25; Tp.III.I,78.
264. III R 10,2:5-8 = Tp.III.II,25, Tp.III.I,78.
265. B.Oded, loc.cit.44; JNES XXIX (1970) 178; ND 2715:30.
(NL 12 H.W.F.Saggs, Iraq XVII (1955) 127-130,150. See n.262 above,
266. ND 3031:7,11. Provinz 60; ND 4301:22; H.Tadmor, 'The Southern
Border of Aram', IEJ XII(1962) 114-122; D.J.Wiseman, Iraq XIII(1951)12
267. ND 4301 + 4305; D.J.Wiseman, Iraq XVIII (1956) 125:r.3-4; see
ND 2381:8(NL 19), H.W.F.Saggs, Iraq XVII (1955) 138; ND 2644;27
(NL 23) Saggs ibid.142-143; see also P.146-147; 153; Tadmor, ibid.
268. B.Oded, loc.cit.45 provides sufficient evidence that Tiglath-
pileser III did not incorporate Tyre into his provincial
system. Cf ND 2715 (NL12Saggs, ibid.126-128; 130-131).The
latter also shows the Assyrian administration in Phoenician
cities during 745-705 BC (pp.126-155). See Layard 45(b) +
50(a) + 50(b) + 67(a) + 69(b2) + 69(ba) = TP.III.II,13-17;
Tp.III.I,77-155; H.Tadmor, 'Introductory Remarks to New
Edition of the Annals of Tiglath-pileser III', Proceedings of
the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities II (Jerusalem
1968) 168-187. For further sources on Hiram of Tyre see ND
4301 + 4305, Wiseman, loc.cit. 125:r.5.

269. M.Cogan, JCS XXV (1973) 97.
270. M.Cogan, *ibid.* 98.
271. B.Oded, JNES XXIX (1970) 177.
272. Provinz 54.
273. B.Oded, *loc.cit.* 177-178. For Gidir, see ND 2773, (NL 14, Saggs, *Loc.cit.* 131-133, n. 111).
274. Lie.Sg.II, 4:11 cf. Sg.II.II.1:10-11; Sg.II.I, 4 = Sg.II.II. 64:23-24; Sg.II.I.64; SKT II:1; Saggs, *loc.cit.* 148; H.Reviv, WHJP IV (1979) 193; I.Eph'al, WHJP IV (1979) 187; H.Tadmor, JCS XII (1958) 94; D.J.Wiseman, 'Historical records of Assyria and Babylonia', in D.W.Thomas(ed.), Documents from Old Testament Times (London 1958) 46-84.
275. Lie. Sg.II, 20-21:120-123 cf Sg.II.II 8:3-6; Sg.II.I:94-97; cf. Sg.II.II 65:33; Sg.II.I 102; H.Tadmor, JCS XII (1958) 95.
276. Lie.Sg.II 10-12:72-76 cf Sg.II.II 4:11; Sg.II.I.50. In this year he settled captives in Hamath (Sg.II.II 67:1; Sg.II.I.106:49 cf Sg.II.II 67:8; Sg.II.II 108:56) see Saggs, Iraq XVII (1955) 148.
277. C.J.Gadd, Iraq XVI (1954) 179-180 :iv 13-17.
278. Lie, Sg.II, 16:93 cf Sg.II.II, 5:11-12, 6:1-2; Sg.II.I, 14:66-67 = Sg.II.II, 68:58; Sg.II.I, 108:58.
279. Sg.II.8:i, 70-73 cf Lie, Sg.II, 22:128-129.
280. Sg.II.II 6:2-5- 35:1-3; Sg.II.I, 14:67-70; Sg.II.II.67:59-60; Sg.II.I, 108.
281. Lie, Sg.II, 16:93-95 cf Sg.II.II, 67:60; Sg.II.I, 108.
282. Lie, Sg.II, 16:96-100 cf Sg.II.II 35:4-8; Sg.II.I, 14:70-74 = Sg.II.II, 68:61-64; Sg.II.I, 108.
283. Sg.II.II 68:64-65; Sg.II.I, 108-110 cf Lie, Sg.II 20:113-114.
284. For their existence in later times see NAT 195; 197-198.
285. Lie, Sg.II, 28:163-164 cf Sg.II.II 36:4-6, Sg.II.I 26:137-138. This province had become *nāgīr-ekalliš* province. See further discussion on p. ^{124; 127f; 235f} For Muṣaṣir see A.Goetze, 'Muṣaṣir', RA XLVI (1952) 158-159; J.Nougayrol, 'Un fragment meconnu du "Pillage de Muṣaṣir"', RA LIV (1960) 203

R.M.Boehmer, 'Zur Lage von Muṣaṣir', Baghdader Mitteilungen
VI (1973) 31-40.

286. Lie, Sg. II 32-34:199-204 cf Sg. II. II 38:2-14; 14:1-9; Sg. II. I, 28-30:170-178. See J.N.Postgate, Iraq XXXV (1973) 31, p.30; 130 f n.145, 154, 163 above.
287. Lie, Sg. II 34:213-215 cf Sg. II. II, 15:5-7; Sg. II. I 32:187-189. For Tabal see pp. 30; 42
288. Sg. II. II, 27:1-12 + 17:1-2; Sg. II. I, 34-36:209-214 = Sg. II. II, 70:88-89; Sg. II. I, 114 cf Lie. Sg. II 38:1-5 + 248.
289. Sg. II. II, 26:12+72:112-116; Sg. II. I, 64-66:383-399 cf Lie, Sg. II, 70:467-468 + 1-10 RLA VI 339.
290. Lie, Sg. II 38-40:249-262 cf Sg. II. II, 17:2-13 + 30:1-2; Sg. II. I, 36:215-227 = Sg. II. II, 70:90-96 + 71 :97-108 + 72 :109; Sg. II. I, 114-116:90-109; see Saggs, loc.cit.149.
291. Lie, Sg. II, 42-46:273-284 cf Sg. II. II, 30:13 + 31:1-2 + 42:16-17 + 28:1-9 + 42:1- 17; Sg. II. I, 38-44:228-263 Cf Gadd, loc.cit.179-180:5-6.
292. Sg. II. II, 31:6-11 + 42:7-12 + 28:2-7; Sg. II. I, 42:253-258 cf Lie. Sg. II, 45:n.9.
293. Lie, Sg. II 48:299 + 1 cf Sg. II. II, 42:17 + 28:10-11 + 32:1; Sg. II. I, 44:263-264.
294. Lie, Sg. II, 48-50:4-6 + 326-331 cf Sg. II. II, 28:14 + 29:1-4; 20:1-3; 32:5-8; Sg. II. I 44-46:267-271.
295. Lie, Sg. II 50-52:11-15 cf Sg. II. II, 32:11-15, 29:7-11; 20:6-10; Sg. II. I 46-48:274-278.
296. Lie, Sg. II, 52:17 + 1 cf Sg. II. II, 29:15 + 32:15-17; Sg. II. I, 48:278-281.
297. Lie, Sg. II, 64-66:13-17 + 1 cf Sg. II. II, 47:12-16 + 48:1; Sg. II. I, 60:364-369 = Sg. II. II 74:137-140; Sg. II. I, 124.
298. Lie, Sg. II 66:445-446 cf Sg. II. II, 48:3-5; Sg. II. I 62:372-373. See Postgate, loc.cit.27-31.
299. Lie, Sg. II, 66-68:445-451 cf Sg. II. II 48:3-7 + 26 :1-2 + 25:3-9; Sg. II. I, 62-64:372-382, Sg. II. II, 75:150-153; Sg. II. I, 126-128.
300. Sg. II. II 68:7 cf Sg. II. II 72:117-120; 73:121, Lie, Sg. II 30:183; 30-32:192-194, See Sg. II, 8:i.42.

301. Senn.31:ii,71-77.
302. Senn.31:ii.79; D.J.Wiseman, DOTT 64ff.
303. Wiseman. *ibid.* 65-66.
304. Senn.27:ii,2-7.
305. Senn. 29:ii,25-31.
306. Senn.29:ii,38; 47-48; ANET 287b, Wiseman. DOTT .66.
307. Senn.:30:ii,48-60; ANET 287; Wiseman, *ibid.* 66.
308. Senn.31:ii,68-71; ANET 287; Wiseman *ibid.*66.
309. Senn. 31:ii,78-83 + 32:iii,3-7; ANET 287; 289; Wiseman *ibid.* 66. The city Elteqeh is situated in the border of Ekron; B.Marzal, *IEJ* X (1960) 65 f.
310. Senn.31:ii,74-76; ANET 287, Wiseman, *ibid.*66.
311. Senn. 30-31:ii,65-66; ANET 287, Wiseman *ibid.*66.
312. Senn.32:iii,6-7; ANET 288, Wiseman, *ibid.*67.
313. J.Naveh, *IEJ* VIII (1958) 8f;165f.
314. For the reliefs of the siege of Lachish see A.H.Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh* (London 1853) Pl.21f; R.D.Barnett, *IEJ* VIII (1958) 161f.
315. Senn.32:iii,14-16; ANET 288; Wiseman *op.cit.*67.
316. see n.31³ above.
317. Asarh.48:ii,65-80; 33:15; 50:32; 101:25; 111:13;122:677.
318. Asarh.48:ii, 80-82.
319. Asarh.60-61:58-82.
320. Asarh.48-49:iii,1-4.
321. Asarh. 107-109.
322. Asarh.49:iii, 16-17.
323. The Nimrud texts emphasizes the importance of trade with the west; H.W.F.Saggs, *Iraq* XVII (1955) 126-160.
324. Asarh.106-107:5-7.
325. Asarh. 87:14-15 cf *ing muhhi* ^{KUR} *muṣur* *kalīšu* *šarrāni* ^{MES} *LÚ* *pā-*
hāte ^{MES} *LÚ* *šakmūte* ^{MES} *LÚ* *rab karē* ^{MES} *LÚ* *qepāni* ^{MES} *LÚ* *šipri ana*

eššūti apqid (Asarh.99:47-48).

326. See pp. 125 - 132.
327. Abp. II 16-18:49-62; ANET 245. For the Phoenician cities during Ashurbanipal's reign see J. Elayi, 'Les Cités Phéniciennes et l'Empire Assyrien à l'Époque d'Assurbanipal', *RA* LXXVII (1983) 45-58.
328. A.K. Grayson, *CAH* III/II (1982) 249ff.
329. PKB. See also *JESHO* VI (1963) 233-242.
330. KAH II, 84:29; J. Seidmann, *MAOG* IX (1935) 14; ARI II, 420. For Lubdu see PKB 178, n.1096; NAT 227.
331. ABC 166:iii, 1-9; ARI II 459 and 222.
332. KAH II 84:33; Seidmann, op.cit. 16. ARI II, 421.
333. KAH II 84:49-90; Seidmann *ibid.*, 20-28; ARI II 427-430. See KAH II 84:42-44; Seidmann, *ibid.* 18; ARI II 424; J.D. Hawkins *CAH* III/II (1982) 388ff.
334. KAH II, 84:100-119; Seidmann, *ibid.*, 28-32; ARI 433-434.
335. *ekallāte^{MES} ina šidi mātiya aršip GIS^š epinne^{MES} ina šidi mātiya arkuš^š šew^{MES} tabkāni eli ša pān ušatir atbuk sise^{MES} sim<da>-at GIS^š niri ina eli mātiya ina eli pān ušatir ar[kuš]-*
'I constructed palaces in the districts of my land. I hitched up ploughs in the district of my land (and) piled up more grain than ever before. I hitched up more teams of horses than ever before for the forces of my land.' (KAH II 84: 120-121; Seidmann, *ibid.* 32, ARI II, 435; see GTWB 94).
336. This desperate need for horses is also shown in Tukulti-Ninurta II's annals concerning Amme-Ba'alī of Bit-Zamani who swears before Aššur *šumma atturu sise^{MES} ana nakrūti^{MES}-ya salmēya tadnuni adad* [...] 'If you give horses to my enemies (and) foes the god Adad will (...)' (W. Schramm, *BiOr* XXVII (1970) 149:23-25; ARI II, 467).
337. *GIS^š ešadi KUR na'iri ešidi ina URU tušha ina URU damdamusi ina URU sinabu ina URU tidi ana idāt^{MES} mātiya atbuku* - 'I reaped the harvest of the land(s) of Na'iri (and) stored (it) for the sustenance of my land in the cities Tušha, Damdamusi, Sinabu and Ti'du.' (AKA 240:47-48. ARI II 641 cf *GIS^š ešadi*

mātišunu ešidi šewm^{MES} u GIS^{GIS} tibnu^{MES} ina URU^{URU} tušha atluk-

'I reaped the harvest of their land (i.e. Na'iri) (and) stored the barley and straw in the city Tušha' (AKA 237:36, ARI II 640). Ashurnasirpal II even considered Dandammusi as his royal city in 882 BC (AKA 290:103, ARI II 549).

338. W.Schramm, loc.cit.148:1-3; ARI II cf 148-149:11-29; ARI II 467.
339. W.Schramm, ibid. 150-154:41-r.46; ARI II, 469-476.
340. W.Schramm, ibid. 149:30; ARI II, 468, Saggs, Iraq XLII (1980) 79.
341. W.Schramm, ibid. 154:r.51; ARI II 478.
342. AKA 269-277:i,44-68; ARI II 544-546 cf Saggs. loc.cit.80.
343. AKA 277-278; i,68-69; ARI II, 546.
344. AKA 302-305:ii,23-86; ARI II 554-566.
345. AKA 325-326:ii, 84-86; ARI II, 566 PKB 154.
346. See Fig. 15:72.
347. Tp.III.II.11:17; Tp.III.I.4; MDDNA65,135.
348. IIR 67:42 = Tp.III.II 35 cf Layard,Pl.2,27. Tp.III.II,30:8, Tp.III.I.50;27: ND 2777:r.7(NL63). Saggs, Iraq XXI(1959) 174. See n.241 above. A person of this name, the *šakin-māti* of Que was the eponym of 685 BC (see Fig.13:15,1).
349. AKA 372:iii.85-87, ARI II 586.
350. AKA 362:iii,55-56; ARI II 583-584.
351. AKA 289:i,100-101, ARI II, 548 cf AKA 350-351:iii,15-25; ARI II 577.
352. Layard, 87-88:32-49; E.Michel WO II (1954) 146 = III R 7:i, 29-39; ii,13-15; 66-69 = BALAWAT,14-16:iii,3-6 = G.G.Cameron, Sumer VI (1950) 12:i.57-73; ii,3-9; E.Michel, WO I (1947-49) 460-461 = F.Safar, Sumer VII (1951) 67:i.35-51; ii,1-9; E.Michel. loc.cit.II, 28-30.
353. IIR 8:ii,30-35. Provinz 25-26, Saggs, Iraq XVII (1955) 142 n. to line 3; XX (1958) 187, n.to line 12.
354. E.Forrer (Provinz 33) believes that this is the province of the *abarakku*, but we have no evidence to such proposal and

even Šamšī-ilu, the well-known *turtānu*, was the governor of that province from 780-752 BC (see F.Thureau-Dangin & M.Dunand, Til-Barsip (Paris 1936) 141-160

355. Layard 89:38-40; E.Michel, loc.cit.II, 146:IIIR 8:ii, 35-38, ii,85
356. Layard 89:54 + 90:55-62; E.Michel,loc.cit.II,148 = G.G. Cameron, loc.cit.13:ii,19-22; E.Michel, loc.cit.I,464 = F.Safar, loc.cit.7-8:ii,13-25. E.Michel, loc.cit.II,32; Layard 91:87-89; E.Michel. loc.cit. II, 150-151 = G.G. Cameron.loc.cit. 14:ii,68-72 + iii, 1-5; E.Michel loc,cit.I 466 = F.Safar.loc.cit.9:ii, 51-57+iii:1-15; E. Michel, loc.cit. II 34; Layard 92:102-104. E.Michel. loc.cit. II 154; III R 8:ii,78-102. For the result of this battle see J.D.Hawkins CAHIII/II,392
357. Layard 92:100-102. E.Michel, loc.cit.II,154
358. Layard 91:73-85; E.Michel,loc.cit.Ii 150 = Cameron.loc.cit. 13:ii,41-54; E.Michel,loc.cit. I 464-466 = Safar,loc.cit.8: ii,31-44; E.Michel.loc.cit. II,33-34
359. Layard 92:92-93. E.Michel.loc.cit.II 152 = Cameron,loc.cit. 15:iii,24-33; E.Michel.loc.cit.I,468 = Safar.loc.cit.10:iii 14-25; E.Michel.loc.cit.II,3 6; Layard 92:97-99;E.Michel. loc.cit.II.154 = Safar. loc.cit.11-12:iii,45-53 + Iv, 1-5; E.Michel.loc.cit.II 38; Layard 92:102-104 E.Michel.loc.cit. II 154
360. Layard 95:141-146. E.Michel.loc.cit.II 224; Layard 97:174-190; E.Michel.loc.cit.II 230-232, III R 8:ii 48-66.BALAWAT 11-15:ii,5-6 + iii,1-5. E.Michel,loc.cit.II 412-414
361. IR 29:i,37-53
362. IR 29:i,53 + 30-31:ii,1-54 + iii,1-72
363. IR 31:iv,1-36, see E.Weidner, Afo IX (1934)92:iii,17-48 + iv,2-10
364. IR 30-31:iii,27-70. F.Weidner, ibid.
365. IR 31:iv,37-45. E.Weidner, ibid.
366. IR 35,1:15-21, A.R.Millard, PEQ CV(1973) 161,n.2
367. IR.35,1:11-14
368. S.Page, Iraq XXX (1968) 142; I.Eph'al, WHJP iv, 181

369. A.R.Millard, PEQ CV (1973) 160-164; B.Oded, JNES XXIX (1970) 177-178; ZDPV XC (1974) 38; I.Eph'al, WHJP IV, 181-182. For the name and location of Maṣuate see F.Lpiński, Estratto do annal dell' Instituto Orientale de Napoli XXXI (1971) 393-399; other sources IIR 35 (kk, 267,7; 1521, 2,7; 3484,2,5); ADD 951:7, 919:ii,7; ABL 145:r.14; ND 2680:8 (NL 22), H.W.F.Saggs, Iraq XVII (1955) 141-142; 154 RLA II 447, Provinz 68.
370. J.D.Hawkins, CAH III/II, 372-435.
371. see P.Garelli, Le Proche-Orient Asiatique et les Empires Mesopotamiens (Paris 1974) 133; 'Remarques sur l'administration de l'Empire Assyrien', RA LXVIII (1974) 129-140; see n.17 above.
372. AKA 195:iii, 3-4; AKA 241:r.51. ARI II 642; AKA 384:iii, 125-126, ARI II 589.
373. see n.374-375 below.
374. AKA 285:i.89; ARI II 547 cf. AKA 353-360,iii, 26-47, ARI II 578-580.
375. AKA 239:r.42, ARI II 641.
376. W.Schramm, loc.cit.147:23-24, ARI II 467.
377. W.Schramm, ibid. 151:70. ARI II 471 cf AKA 289:i.100, ARI II 584, see also PKB 183-184, n.1127.
378. AKA 350-351:iii, 16-18, ARI II 577, PKB ibid.
379. AKA 280:i.75, ARI II 547. cf.W.Schramm, loc.cit.152:r,5; ARI II 473.
380. F.H.Weissbach, Babylonische Miscellen (Leipzig 1903)9:C,2,10:ii, 27; 11:v,5 see PKB op.cit. Also now known from recent tablets found at Anat, to be published in Sumer.
381. see n. 377 above.
382. see n. 378 above.
383. Layard over reliefs, E.Michel. loc.cit.II, 142:E.1-E.4 See PKB 201.
384. Nergal-ereš has two stele: (1) Saba'a stele found 1905 in the desert south of Sinjar Hills, published by E.Unger, 'Die Relief-stele Ada-neraris III aus Saba'a und Semiramis', PKOM 1 and (2) Tell-Al-Rimah stela published by S.Page, Iraq XXX (1968), 139-153. In both stelae Suhi was included among the vast land controlled from Nimit-Ištar, Apqu. Mare, Rašappa, Qatni, Dur-Katlimma, opposite Kar-Aššur-našir-apli, Sirku, the land of

- Laquand Hindanu, the city of Anat, the land of Suhi and the
the city of [ana-Aššur-utir]ašbat. See Van Driel, BiOr XXXVIII (1981)
268-270
385. IR 29:ii,13.
386. E.Unger, 'Stele des Bēl-harran-bēl-ušur', in PKOM III
(1917) 5f.
387. F.Thureau-Dangin et M.Dunand, Til-Barsip (Paris 1936) 141-
151. Cf Aššur-dini-amur of Adad-nerari III, Dayan-Aššur of
Shalmaneser III in n.241 above. Since writing the above
I note that A.R.Millar^d has reached the same conclusion
in his 'Assyrians and Arameans', Iraq XLV (1983) 101-108
388. STF¹⁰³ Iraq XLV (1983) 104ff
389. Except in 841 BC under Shalmaneser III when Nimit-Ištar is
placed.
390. see n.388 above.
391. see n.361 above.
392. see n.388 above
393. For the *turtānu* see Stele 44,64,66,68,138 cf Provinz 33.
For the *abarakku* see Stele 100 cf Provinz 26, 33, 109-110.
394. RLA II 412ff.
395. Tp.III 32:30-31, Tp.III, I,46.
396. Tp.III,32:32-36: tp.III,I46 cf Tp.III,II 13a:14,Tp.III,I,30-
32:177-180; see K.Kessler, ZA LXIX (1979) 218.
397. ^{LÚ}sūt-rēšiya ^{LÚ}sakin-māt ^{KUR}na'iri (Tp.III,II,21:20 + 15:1-2,
Tp.III,I 24:141-142) see R.Borger, AfO XXIII (1970) 9;
K.Kessler, ZA LXIX (1979) 217-218.
398. Stele 47; RLA II 453. See Provinz 33.
399. Tp.III.II,17:12 + 8a:1-4; Tp.III,I 30-32:176-180.
400. Tp.III-II;21:18-19; Tp.III,I 24:139-140.
401. K 1671 + 16680. For the reading Habhu see RLA IV 12-13.
402. Tp.III.II 35:13-14, Tp.III.I 56-58.
403. Senn.27,ii,2-7 see L.D.Levine, JNES XXXII (1973) 312- 317.

404. Tp.III.II.15:19, Tp.III.I 24:148.
405. Tp.III.II.16:9; Tp.III,I 28:161.
406. Senn.39:iv,55-61.
407. A.Suleiman, Adab Al-Rafidayn XIV (1981) 165-182 (Arabic). F.N.
H.Al-Rawi, Bayn Al-Nahrayn XXXIV-V (1981) 139-164.
- 4 08 H.F.Russell;RA LXXII(1983) 190 .

The provincial administrators

i. ^{LU}bēl-pāhete

1. Early references

The term first occurs in a letter dated from the First Dynasty of Babylon in which the writer says: *a -wi-lam be-el pi-ha-tim ú-ul ú-ba-al-la-at* - "I will not spare the life of (that) man responsible (for the damage)"⁽¹⁾. The next mention comes from a letter from the reign of Ammiditana: *LÚ^{MES} šu-ut pi-ha-a-tim ša ina šagga^{KI} wāšbū...kiam ašpurūnim ana LÚ^{MES} šu-ut pi-ha-a-tim ša ina šagga^{KI} wāšbū* wrote "Those responsible men who are living in the town of Shagan / to those responsible men who are living in Shagan."⁽²⁾ The expression is found again at Mari in two letters from Kibri-Dagan⁽³⁾ written as *EN pa-ha-tim*⁽⁴⁾ and *LÚ^{MES} be-el pa-ha-tim*⁽⁵⁾ and soon after that in a letter from Mukannišum⁽⁶⁾, written *be-el pa-ha-a-tim*⁽⁷⁾.

In this early period, as well as in Kassite times, the general meaning of the term seems to be "those with responsibility"⁽⁸⁾ for there is as yet no proof of any specific administrative duties connected with this title and no personal names are given with this appellation.

In the MA period, the *bēl-pāhete* begins to occur more frequently. The first mention is in a royal edict of Ashur-uballiṭ I, although the text is too broken to ascertain the context. Weidner suggested that it could refer to workmen in charge of the restoration of the palace⁽⁹⁾. The term is written *EN pāhete*⁽¹⁰⁾. It might therefore have been used for officials dealing with building operations in the palace. During the thirteenth century BC, the same title *EN pāhete* frequently occurs to describe the office of a MA provincial-governor centred in one of the main towns⁽¹¹⁾. The MA provinces associated with *bēl-pāhete* were located towards the north-west of Assyria proper (ie. the Habur-Valley), including Nahur⁽¹²⁾,

Šuduhi⁽¹³⁾, and Ta'idi⁽¹⁴⁾. Those in the Assyrian homeland were Aššur⁽¹⁵⁾, Halahhi⁽¹⁶⁾, Arzuhina⁽¹⁷⁾ and Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta⁽¹⁸⁾. The MA sources also show that there were other provinces such as Arba'il⁽¹⁹⁾, (~~erased~~)⁽²⁰⁾ Šibaniba⁽²¹⁾, (~~erased~~)⁽²²⁾ and Kulišhinaš⁽²³⁾. The latter is located by Machinist in modern Amuda⁽²⁴⁾. Assur 18767 = VAT 18066⁽²⁵⁾, a list dated to Tiglath-Pileser I provides us with the name of some MA provinces from which a *gin'ū* offering was contributed. i.e. Arba'il, Kilizu, Halahhu, Amussu, Idu, Katmuhhu, Šudu, Taidu, Amasaki, Kulišhinaš, Aššur, *pāhutu elītu* & *šaplītu*, *kurša*, Libbi-ali, Ninua, Kurda, Apqu, Addarik, Karan^a, Šibanibe etc.⁽²⁶⁾

It seems that the responsibilities of the *bēl-pāhete* within the MA provinces entailed the maintaining of law and order, the supervision of the agricultural production and the ensuring of regular supplies of taxes and tributes for both palace and temple⁽²⁷⁾. This contribution may be confirmed by the delivery of sheep and cattle as *nāmurtu* - "audience-gift". Five MA *bēl-pāhete* were involved in such transactions:

1. Adad-murabbi. i) 6 rams *nāmurtu* of Adad-murabbi, *bēl-pāhete* to Ninurta-Tukulti-Aššur⁽²⁸⁾.

ii) 6 rams *nāmurtu* of (the town of) Arzuhina from Adad-murabbi⁽²⁹⁾. In ll 7-8 the text refers to the death of Adad-murabbi *ištu I d adad-murabbi metūni*). The text is dated on the (X) of Allanatu, *limmu* of Sin-Šeya, while text example 1.i) above is dated on the twenty-third of Šippu of the same *limmu*. Adad-murabbi therefore delivered 12 rams as *nāmurtu* within six months to Ninurta-Tukulti-Aššur. It could be possible that the second delivery was presented by his province on account of his death - *nāmurtu ša URU arzuhina ištu ša I d adad-murabbi*. Another *nāmurtu* was delivered by Puššaya, *bēl-pāhete* of the same province, three months afterwards on the twenty-second of Šakināte of the same *limmu*⁽³⁰⁾. This indicates that Puššaya was appointed to the office of *bēl-pāhete* of Arzuhina immediately after Adad-murabbi's death and had managed to send his *nāmurtu* within three months of his appointment.

2. Eru-apla-ušur: 6 rams *nāmurtu* of Eru-apla-ušur *bēl-pāhete* of Halahhi⁽³¹⁾.

3. Ninurtiya: i) 10 rams *nāmurtu* of Ninurtiya *bēl-pāhete* ⁽³²⁾.
 ii) 10 rams *nāmurtu* of Ninurtiya *bēl-pāhete* of ^{URU}
alkapra ⁽³³⁾.
4. Puššaya: 3 calves/oxen 50 rams *nāmurtu* of Puššaya *bēl-pāhete* of Arzuhina ⁽³⁴⁾.
5. Sin-balassu-eriš: 11 calves/oxen 20 rams *nāmurtu* of Sin-balassu-eriš *bēl-pāhete* of Ta'idi ⁽³⁵⁾.
6. BM 122635 (Iraq XXXII(1970)172f) includes lists of contributions from various dignitaries, including the provincial-governors of Nineveh, Šadikanni, Qatui, Tab-(t)aya, Halahhi, I(sana?), Buralli and other rulers (see TCAE 161-162).

This seems to prove that the number and content of the *nāmurtu* was not fixed for each individual provincial-governor.

Five MA texts give further evidence of MA *bēl-pāhete* duties. These texts concern the organization and supply of rations to deportees and captive peoples, *ERIN*^{MES} *nashūte*.

Three of these texts are related to the Kashiyyari district:

1. Aššur-kitte-idi, son of Aššur-šar-ilani, the *bēl-pāhete* of Nahur, and Urad-šerua, son of Melisah ⁽³⁶⁾.
2. Melisah, son of Aššur-aha-iddina, the *bēl-pāhete* of Nahur and Kidin-Sin-, son of Adad-teya, the *bēl-pāhete* of Šuduhi ⁽³⁷⁾.
3. Mušallim-Šamaš, grandson of ^d XX, the *bēl-pāhete* of Ta'idi and Melisah, son of Aššur-aha-iddina ⁽³⁸⁾.

These texts indicate that the relatives of the *bēl-pāhete* were acting as agents. The same task of supplying rations to the deportees could be fulfilled by either the *bēl-pāhete* or the *qēpūtu* officials.

They may also indicate that the MA provincial administration was governed by families rather than individual appointees ⁽³⁹⁾.

The other two texts refer to Babylonia, where Aššur-bel-ilani, *bēl-pāhete* of Aššur, is responsible for the supply for deportees from Babylon and the Kassites ⁽⁴⁰⁾.

There are five months between the dating of these two texts. Aššur-zer-iddina was Eponym during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243-1207)⁽⁴¹⁾.

The same *bēl-pāhete*, Aššur-bel-ilani of Aššur, also had to deliver 34 homers of barley to the "new house in Aššur"⁽⁴²⁾. This indicates that the provincial-governors were not only responsible for supplying fixed amounts of rations for deportees or prisoners, they probably acted on specific royal commands.

The term *bēl-pāhete* in the MA period seems to simply denote an official exercising authority over a given area. They are listed in Fig 4. (p.136).

At about the same time, the title appears to have been used in Babylonia as well. Marduk-šumu-lišir, *bēl-pīhati* of Bit-Belani is the scribe of a Kudurru from the fifth year of Nazi-maruttaš (1318 BC)⁽⁴³⁾. From this date on, and throughout the Kassite and MB period until at least the middle of the eighth century, the position of a *bēl-pīhati* was not very prominent. He mainly appears in Kudurrus as a witness⁽⁴⁴⁾. In five cases between 1100-887/855 BC he is invariably listed in sixth position after the governor of Isin, the "ša rēši, sakrumas^v, sukkallu šākin-tēme"⁽⁴⁵⁾. Also in the later claimant-formulae he is found in a low position among the other officials⁽⁴⁶⁾, except in six cases:

1. Marduk-zakir-šumi, a recipient of a royal land-grant from Marduk-apla-iddina I (1173-1161) was described as:

bēl-pīhati [X.X]-bi ekurri u māti [X.X]dibe dupšikki š[a mā]ti elīti u šap līti mār I^d nabû-nādin-ahhē^{MEŠ} ša abi abišu I^rrimeni-^dmarduk lipu ribû ša I^ruballit^{su}-^dmarduk līp līppe I^darad-^dea⁽⁴⁷⁾. This definitely refers to a wide authority over the "upper and Lower Land" and his relationship to Arad-Ea's family.

2. Nabu-šum-ukin II was a *bēl-pīhati*. He led the revolt against Nabu-nadin-zeri in 732 BC, killed the king and reigned for about one month⁽⁴⁸⁾.

3. Marduk-balassu-iqbi, son of Arad-Ea. This *bēl-pīhati* occurs as a witness in a Kudurru drawn up in the thirty-first year of Nabu-apla-iddina, his grandfather (856 BC)⁽⁴⁹⁾. He was promoted to be crown-prince in the second year of his father's (Marduk-zakir-šumi) reign, when he again

acted as a witness to a royal land-grant dated from this year (853 BC)⁽⁵⁰⁾. He became king in 818-813 BC⁽⁵¹⁾.

It seems that Marduk-balassu-iqbi served at least 38 years within the administrative sector before becoming king of Babylon.

4. Bel-ana-kala-bani, *bēl-pīhati* ^{KUR}*tamtim* - the provincial-governor of the Sea-land, acted as purchasing agent on behalf of the king⁽⁵²⁾.

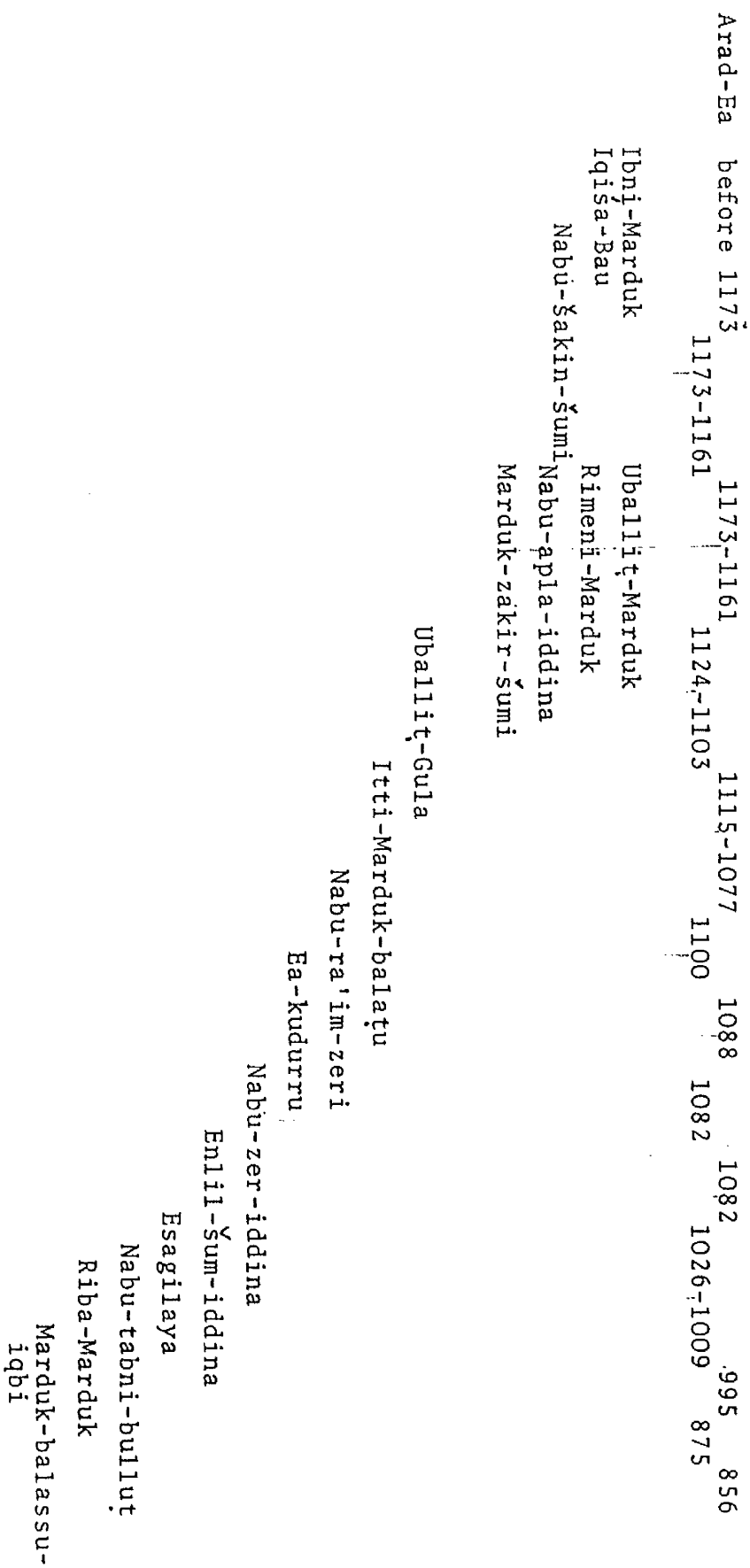
5. Kidin-Marduk, *bēl-pīhati* ^{URU}*Irrea* was involved with four other officials in measuring some land.⁽⁵³⁾

6. Marduk-šumu-lišir, the *bēl-pīhati* of Bit-Belani was the scribe of a Kudurru drawn up in 1318 BC⁽⁵⁴⁾.

The title of a *bēl-pīhati* in this period included either a previously existing territory (*mātu*), the name of a local tribe (eg Bit-A da, Bit-Belani etc), or the principle town of the region as the seat of his administration.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Out of seventeen provinces known to have existed in Babylonia during the Second Dynasty of Isin, no more than eight were associated with a *bēl-pāhete* as shown on Fig.5 (p.137 f)

It is worth noting that out of this total twenty-one provincial-governors, eight were descendants of the famous scribal family of Arad-Ea (approximately between 1175-824 BC). These are Ea-kudurri-ibni, Enlil-šum-iddina, Marduk-balassu-iqbi, Marduk-zakir-šumi, Nabu-ra'im-zeri, Nabu-tabni-bulluṭ, Riba-Marduk and Uballissu-Gula. Three other members of this family also held the office of surveyor, i.e. Ibni-Marduk⁽⁵⁶⁾, Nabu-zer-iddina⁽⁵⁷⁾ and Itti-Marduk-balatu⁽⁵⁸⁾, while Esagilaya was scribe and witness in the same Kudurru⁽⁵⁹⁾. Two others occur only as witnesses, Iqiša-bau⁽⁶⁰⁾ and Nabu-šakin-šumi⁽⁶¹⁾. The above fourteen names were described as *mar* ^r*arad-d*^e*ea* "Son of Arad-Ea", although they belong to different periods. This may indicate the importance of this family politically and administratively throughout the MB period. (See Fig.2; p. 98)

Fig. 2 The family of Arad-Ea (1173-824 BC)



The earliest^{NA} Assyrian reference to the title *bēl-pāhete* describing an official associated with a place-name, occurs in a royal inscription and concerns Šamaš-remanni, the *bēl-pāhete* of Harran during the reign of Adad-nerari III (810-783 BC)⁽⁶²⁾. Other texts, particularly from the 'Governor's Palace Archive' at Kalhu, reveal the importance of the *bēl-pāhete* as provincial-governor during the period from 810-734 BC⁽⁶³⁾. Throughout the subsequent reign of Tiglath-pileser III, the office of the *bēl-pāhete* is referred to with increasing frequency, including the appointment of eunuchs as provincial-governors: ^{LÚ}šūt-rēšīya ^{LÚ}*bēl-pāhete* elišunu aškun/apqid⁽⁶⁴⁾. References to him^{i.e. *bēl-pāhete*} are found in royal inscriptions, administrative correspondence and contracts⁽⁶⁵⁾.

During the NB period, the title *bēl-pāhete* continued to be used for a provincial-governor⁽⁶⁶⁾. It is however rarely found during the Achaemenid period, where ^{LÚ}*pāhutu* occurs chiefly in the Murašû-texts⁽⁶⁷⁾.

2. The title of ^{LÚ}*bēl-pāhete* = ^{LÚ}*EN.NAM*

The official title is often written logographically, ^{LÚ}*EN.NAM*. According to the lexical series ur₅.ra=hubullu, *NAM* = pi-ha-at⁽⁶⁸⁾ or *NA.AM* = *NAM* = *NA.AM.MU* = pi-ha-tú⁽⁶⁹⁾. The OB reading is pīhatu, *NA pāhutu*⁽⁷⁰⁾. During the MA, MB and NA periods the term can only be interpreted as "province" when it occurs in conjunction with a geographical name⁽⁷¹⁾. The professional title for a provincial-governor is ^{LÚ}*EN.NAM*: *bēl-pāhete* (NA) or occasionally *EN.NAM* or even just ^{LÚ}*NAM*⁽⁷²⁾. This practice can probably be explained as scribal convention in a sort of short-hand since it was a well-known office. The abbreviated way of writing the title occurs mainly in legal documents.

From OB onwards the syllabic form was used fre-

quently⁽⁷³⁾. In MA writings, the vowel of the second syllable *-ha-* is shortened to *-he/i-* (ie *pāhete*)⁽⁷⁴⁾.

Otherwise the construct form throughout is *pī/āhatu*. The professional title (i.e. *bēl-pāhete*) is usually written logographically and rarely syllabically⁽⁷⁵⁾.

3. The position of the *bēl-pāhete* in the hierarchy.

According to the evidence of NA texts, the only superior giving orders to a *bēl-pāhete* is the king. The royal inscriptions mention him as a member of the eunuch-officials (*šūt-rēš*)⁽⁷⁷⁾ of the court⁽⁷⁶⁾, who were directly appointed by the king. However, I am not considering here the non-Assyrian provincial-governors associated with this title. For references to them see Fig.8, and those PN's marked with x.

One royal order to the provincial-governor of Kalhu is found in a Nimrud-text: 'The King's command to Šarru-dūri' *abāt LUGAL* ana *MAN.BAD*⁽⁷⁸⁾. A parallel is 'the king's command to Bel-dan'⁽⁷⁹⁾. Both men are known from other Nimrud texts to be *bēl-pāhetes* of Kalhu⁽⁸⁰⁾. There are also a number of texts in which the king is requested to command the *bēl-pāhete* by his direct authority: *šarru bēliya* ana *LÚ bēl-pāhete lišpuramma*⁽⁸¹⁾, *LÚ bēl-pāhete šarru lišal*⁽⁸²⁾.

Ashurbanipal records that he dispatched a provincial-governor to make an alliance with a newly appointed vassal-ruler, said to be Niku of Egypt: *LÚ šūt-rēšiya LÚ bēl-pāhete MES* ana *kitrišu ašpur*⁽⁸³⁾.

It is difficult to decide whether this mission was given to him because of a statutory close relationship with the king. Particular circumstances, such as the availability of the official at the time, might have been equally decisive factors.

An interesting passage in one of Sargon's inscriptions shows the *bēl-pāhete* to be the second guest after the foreign rulers at a banquet given to celebrate the completion of Dūr-Šarruken: 'I sat

down in my place and celebrated a feast with rulers of my lands, provincial-governors of my land, overseers, commanders, princes, eunuchs and the elders of Assyria'-
 itti malki mātitān ^{LÚ}pa-ha-ti mātiya akli šāpiri rubē^{MEŠ}
 šūt-rēši^{MEŠ} u ^{LÚ}šību ^{KUR}aššur^{ki}ina qereb ekalliya ūšib-
 ma aštakan nigūtu⁽⁸⁴⁾. That the bēl-pāhete took
 part in such royal parties generally is also confirmed
 by an account of Ashurnasirpal's inauguration-feast
 for Kalhu in 876 BC⁽⁸⁵⁾.

Assyrian kings also included the bēl-pāhete in the official battle-records; Sennāherib for instance states: 'The rest of the heavy booty of my enemy I divided like sheep among my whole camp and my provincial-governors, and the citizens of my great cult-cities' ^{sītti šallati nakirī} kabittu ana gimir karā-
 šīya ū ^{LÚ}bēl-pāhete^{ya} niše^{MEŠ} māhazāniya rabūte^{MEŠ}
 kīma šēni uza^{iz} ⁽⁸⁶⁾. The share of the provincial-governor is not to be considered as a personal gift but as an official contribution^{to} his province's economic resources.

There is a clay-docket of Sargon in which he states that he relieved the bēl-pāhete of the ^{ilku-}
 tax⁽⁸⁷⁾.

It is not clear which bēl-pāhete this was. But it does show that he was receiving special privileges from the king himself.

There are cases when the provincial-governor might receive orders from another source apart from the king. 1. A minister is required to write to the provincial-governor: ^{LÚ}SUKAL ana ^{LÚ}EN.NAM lišpurma⁽⁸⁸⁾.

2. One Assyrian lady called Saraya wrote to the palace-scribe complaining that the provincial-governor had taken some slaves⁽⁸⁹⁾. Her calling on the scribe (^{LÚ}A.BA.E.GAL) probably meant that she wished him to present her case to the king rather because of his essentially higher rank.

3. A document of redemption from 'service',

palāhu⁽⁹⁰⁾ concerning the crown-prince states that the pledgee had to pay an amount of grain and an oxen for his release to Bel-duri, ^{LÚ}EN.NAM ša DUMU.MAN, the provincial-governor of the crown-prince⁽⁹¹⁾. This does not necessarily mean that this *bēl-pāhete* was in the service of the crown-prince, in fact there is no other evidence to support such an assumption.

There are two broken lists of officials in which ten out of a total of forty-eight *bēl-pāhete* are classified as ^{LÚ}GAL.GAL^{MES} DUMU.LUGAL⁽⁹²⁾. In the same texts, the other official titles preserved are, respectively of high rank (ie ^{LÚ}AGRIG, ^{LÚ}turtānu, ^{LÚ}GAL.SAG..), which implies that these lists were prepared for general administrative purposes rather than to mark any particular attendance on the king or crown-prince.

One was drawn up in 672 BC when Ashurbanipal was crown-prince of Assyria, (ADD 854)⁽⁹³⁾ The officials are described as PAP 48 ^{LÚ}GAL.GAL^{MES} DUMU LUGAL ana DUMU LUGAL, which indicates his authority over them. The other list is of a later date when Ashurbanipal was already king (ADD 853). Here the above quoted passage is omitted and so are various PN, indicating that their posts were filled by others.⁽⁹⁴⁾ The collation of these two lists appears on p. 103-104.

The *bēl-pāhete*'s official position is stressed by his status as eponym (see Fig. 6; p. 139f).

The NA royal correspondence and legal documents refer occasionally to other individuals or officials who were connected with the *bēl-pāhete*, probably working under his supervision (see Fig. 7; p. 141f).

Comparison between two lists of officials

ADD 854	ADD 853 i	ii
1 [1] ^I za ^{LÚ} []	1 [1 ^I šá ^d] PA-š ^I u-ú	
2 [1] ^{LÚ} tur[ta [?] -nu ⁱ]	2 [1 ^I aš]-š ^I ur-š ^I U.GUR ^{LÚ}	
	AGRIG	
3 [1] ^{LÚ} DIŠ.U É.GAL	3 1 ^I PAP.DINGIR.a.a ^{LÚ}	
	EN.NAM	
blank space	4 uru ^{NI} NA ^{KI}	
4 [1]-a-a ^{LÚ} GAL.SAG	5 1 ^I .d PA.XX.PAB ^{LÚ} EN.	
	NAM URU ^{NI} NA ^{KI}	
5 [1 ^I šá ^d] PA-š ^I U-ú	6 ki-š ^I ir[šá ^I] XXX ^{MEŠ}	1 ^I LUGAL.
	PAP ^{MEŠ} SU GIBIL	ZALAG ^{LÚ} EN.NAM
6 [1 aš-š ^I ur-š ^I U.GUR ^{LÚ} AGRIG	7 [] ^I mi-i-su ^{LÚ} EN.NAM	
	URU ⁴ .DINGIR	
blank space	8 [] ^I d ^{LÚ} SU.SU ^{LÚ} EN.NAM	1 ^I su-la-a-a
	URU ^{bu} -mu	
7 [] ^I d PA] XX.PAB ^{LÚ} EN.NAM	9 [] ^I EN.AŠ ^{LÚ} EN.NAM	^{LÚ} EN.NAM
URU ^{NI} NA ^{KI}	URU ^{kul} -me-ra	
8 [ki-š ^I ir.šá ^I I.d XXX.PAP ^{MEŠ}	10 1 ^I ab-da-a ^{LÚ} EN.NAM	
SU GIBIL		
9 [] ^I mi-i-su ^{LÚ} EN.NAM	11 URU ^{ra} -šap-pa	
URU ⁴ .DINGIR		
10 [1 ^I a]b-da-a ^{LÚ} EN.NAM	12 1 ^I aš-š ^I ur.DU.IGI	
ra-šap-pa	EN.NAM	
11 [1 ^I aš-š ^I ur.DU.IGI ^{LÚ} EN.	URU ^{bar} -hal-za	
NAM ^{KUR} bar-hal-za		
12 [1 ^I a]a-tar-a-a ^{LÚ} NAM	13 1 ^I it-ri-ia ^{LÚ} EN.NAM ^r	
KUR[]		
13 1 ^I d ^{LÚ} U.GUR ^{XX} .PAB		
NAM ^{KUR} []		
14 1 ^I PAP.im-me ^{LÚ} EN.NAM		
URU ^{hindan}		
15 1 ^{LÚ} AGRIG []		
16 [1 ^I d ^{LÚ} SU.XX.PAB ^{LÚ} SAG.		
DUMU.LUGAL		
rl 1 ^I a-ri.XX ^{LÚ} šá ^I .GIR[^ú]	ITI ^{AB} .UD.15 ^{KAM}	
blank space		
r.2 ^I DI.ta-qu-mu ^{LÚ} GAL		
LUNGA		
3 1 ^I šá-lim-i ^{LÚ} GAL-bat-qi		
	iii	iv
	1 1 ^I d ^{LÚ} SU.X.[X.PAB	
	SAG DUMU LUGAL]	
	2 1 ^I DINGIR[X]di[]	
	3 LU []	
	4 1 ^I U.GUR.XX[PAB	
	LÚ ^{EN} .NAM]	
	line erased	
	5 1 ^I šá-maš []	
	LÚ ^{GAL} [L]	
	6	
	7 1 ^I iš-ki[]	

Continues

ADD 854	ADD 853 iii	iv
4 1 ^I gab-bu-a-mur LÚ SUM.NÍG		8 LÚ GA(L)
5 1 ^I qur-di-15 LÚ GAL. NÍG.KA ₉		9 1 ^I d PA.ŠU-()
blank space		line erased
6 PAP 48 LÚ GAL.GAL ^{MES} DUMU LUGAL		line erased
blank space		10 1 ^I dè-ri-LUGAL()
7 PAP a-na DUMU LUGAL		11 (1 ^I aš)-šur-dan-in()
8 1 ^I d ŠÚ.XX.PAB LÚ SAG. DUMU LUGAL		
9 1 ^I d PA-ri-su-u-a LÚ		
10 1 ^I man-nu-ki-URU KASKAL LÚ ()		
11 1 ^I tu-ti-i LÚ GAL.URU		
blank space		
12 a-na É.GAŠAN		

4. Functions of the *bēl-pāhete*

According to the evidence from NA letters and contracts, the provincial-governor acted independently as an authorized official who was only answerable to the king and in some rare cases to other high-ranking officials (^{LU}SUKKAL; ^{LU}A.BA.KUR...) (⁹⁵). His title occurs as addressee in letters (⁹⁶), where he is approached as 'my lord' (ana ^{LU}bēl-pāhete bēliya), according to his position as the representative of the central government. There is one letter of a provincial-governor to a subordinate individual (⁹⁷).

The functions of the *bēl-pāhete* were varied, but the following categories were the most important.

i) Public affairs.

There are a number of letters and legal documents which throw some light on the rôle of the *bēl-pāhete* in public affairs. Sin-tabni-ušur reported to Ashurbanipal about some captives from the Sea-land. The writer asks the king to get in touch with the *bēl-pāhete* in charge: 'Among the captives we took from the Sea-land there are some old men of the Ekušan village of my father's tribe, who had served my father Ningal-iddina during the reign of the kings, your fathers. Now then, some of them have fled to their families.

May the king, my lord, write to the provincial-governor, (so that he) under the protection of the king, my lord, may deliver them and treat them in a decent way.'

[ina UGU] hubti ša ultu ^{KUR}tām^{tim} nihbutū ^{LU}URU^{MEŠ}ekušaya
ERIN^{MEŠ} labīrūtu ša É AD-ya šunu ša ina MI LUGAL^{MEŠ}
AD^{MEŠ}-ka I dningal-SUM AD-ua iplahū adu ERIN^{MEŠ} ina
libbišunu ibaššū ša ana muhi ^{LU}qinnātišunu imqutūni
enna LUGAL EN-a ana ^{LU}EN.NAM lišpuramma ina MI ša
LUGAL bēliya liddināšunūtīmma libbi DUG.GA luškunšunūtu
(⁹⁸).

The provincial governor concerned is probably the *bēl-pāhete* of the Sea-land. It is unlikely to be a private letter, since the writer stresses his and his father's service under the king and his royal forbears -
ina šilli šarrāni abbēka. Oppenheim has argued that

this idiom probably means 'that certain persons are considered (or consider themselves) being (*ina šilli ša šarri*) of a status which entitles them to specific privileges... (and) was applied to officials on special missions.' (99)

The letter ND 424⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ is addressed to the *bēl-pāhete* of Kalhu by Nergal-ētir and concerns forty Babylonians captive. The sender asks the *bēl-pāhete* to speak to the *LÚ turtānu* because he seems unhappy about ten captives from Rapiqu. Another letter written by two individuals called Nabu-ram-nešešu and Salamanu deals with a similar case, where a committee had to be set up in order to investigate an affair concerning fifteen fugitives. The *bēl-pāhete* of Der: *15 LÚ maqtūte ša LÚ EN.NAM ša URU diri* (101)

It is significant that the names of two of the individuals of the committee are non-Assyrian, and the messenger is probably one of the officials of the *bēl-pāhete* of Der himself.

This letter may indicate that to bring fugitives before justice was one of the *bēl-pāhete*'s administrative duties, though he might act through a subordinate official.

Another letter to a *bēl-pāhete* was sent by a certain Nabu-dur-ušur and concerns some Elamite citizens. He asks the provincial-governor to do something, but what it was is difficult to know since the letter is badly preserved⁽¹⁰²⁾. According to the greeting-formula it was probably sent to the *bēl-pāhete* of Der: *ana LÚ EN.NAM bēliya īr-ka I d PA.BAD.PAB lū šulmu ana bēliya šulmu ana URU diri*. On the other hand it is possible to assume that the writer was an agent sent by the provincial-governor of Der to investigate the matter, since the writer mentions that he had sent another report to his master: *umā annūrig ana bēliya assapra minu LÚ EN.NAM bēliya mahirūni [lip]puš* ('Now I have sent to my lord, let him do? whatever pleases the provincial-governor, my lord') This passage may confirm the above suggestion that in certain cases a subordinate official acted on behalf of the *bēl-pāhete* and such letters might reflect his view on the matter.

ABL 547:13-19 + r.1-8⁽¹⁰³⁾ is about some trouble caused to the *bēl-pāhete* of Kalhu by tribesmen at the Suhean border. The writer explains that "they did not pay attention to the provincial-governor of Kalhu" (*la iṣemēu ana* ^{LÚ}EN. ^{ša} ^{URU}kalhu).

This implies that the writer - whose name is not preserved - judged the provincial-governor of Kalhu to be in charge of the whole area beyond the Tharthar-Valley and up to the Suhean border. The people concerned were probably nomads.

Another instance of the provincial-governor's involvement in public affairs is found in a letter written by Bel-iqbi on behalf of the Gambulean people who had been deported from the town of Adarihti in Zame and settled in the land of Bannišī where they were received with hostility. - 'Our brothers were killed there. We have seized the men who killed our brothers and set them before the provincial-governor to question them': *ŠEŠ^{MEŠ}-ni ina libbi dīkū ERÍN^{MEŠ} ša ŠEŠ^{MEŠ}-ni idūkū nuṣabbita ana pāni* ^{LÚ}EN. ^{WAM} *nīmahhar GAR-ān. ittīšunu* ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾. The writer considered the provincial-governor to be the right authority for this murder-case. This letter was addressed to the king personally, either to complain about the provincial-governor's handling of the affair or to add some urgency to the *bēl-pāhete*'s report on it.

In ABL 846,r.16-22 the *bēl-pāhete* is closely associated with the king when Šuma reports about some problems with Zanukeans etc. to Ashurbanipal:

'May the king inquire of the provincial-governor whether my heart does not belong entirely to the king, my lord. Let the provincial-governor stand side by side with king, my lord.':

likkāya ana LUGAL bēlīya la gumurūahu ša LUGAL bēlīya ^{LÚ}EN. ^{NAM} ^{liṣāl} ^{kī} ^{LÚ}EN. ^{NAM} ^{lizza} ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

Here the writer counts on the *bēl-pāhete*'s close relationship with the king to recommend himself to the king. Exactly how close this relationship was may be gleaned from an extract of another letter

in which a person asking for an audience with the king mentions that he will first come before the provincial-governor, then the Chief-Palace Official and then presumably, to the king. - 'In Babylonia I kiss (the feet of) the king of the lands. Before the provincial-governor and the Chief-Palace official I

stand'—[GIR^{II}] ša LUGAL KUR.KUR ina KUR^{TIN.TIR}ki anaššiqu u ina pān LÚ^{LÚ}EN.NAM u LÚ^{LÚ}GAL É.GAL ušuzzak⁽¹⁰⁶⁾. The provincial-governor mentioned here

could be the one from the capital city who would therefore be a high-ranking official within the royal entourage and seemingly senior to the Chief Palace Official. It could of course also refer to the writer's local *bēl-pāhete* - as in ABL 771 - who would have to recommend the writer for an audience with the king as the representative of the throne in the provinces.

The expression *ina pān LÚ^{LÚ} bēl-pāhete uzuzzu* also occurs in a letter from Mannu-ki-Ninua to the king in which he reports about negotiations concerning *adû*-stipulations imposed on the inhabitants of Kuluman. He says: 'The king has given instructions and before the provincial-governor (of the city?) we shall stand': LUGAL tēmu inadanpāšima ina pān LÚ^{LÚ}EN.NAM ša [URU^{XXX}] nizāz⁽¹⁰⁷⁾. It was probably necessary to ratify the treaty in the presence of the provincial-governor as the representative of the king. This is also documented by the relevant passages of Esarhaddon's Vassal-Treaty. The participants are called on to swear that 'if one of his brothers, uncles, cousins, members of his father's family or descendants and any descendant of a previous king, one of the chiefs, provincial-governor, a citizen of Assyria or a foreigner involve you in a plot...the offender will be cursed'⁽¹⁰⁸⁾. In a similar way the provincial-governor was included in the allegiance to Ashurbanipal in the Zakutu-Oath⁽¹⁰⁹⁾. The *bēl-pāhete* must have been considered powerful enough to be in a position to endanger the political stability of the ruling power.

The part taken by the provincial-governor in legal transactions may also be considered as within his administrative rôle in public affairs. There are two phrases occurring in legal contracts which concern the legal duties of the

provincial-governor.

i) The *bēl-pāhete* figures among other officials as potential future claimant in contracts. eg:

lū PN 1 lū DUMU^{MEŠ}-šū lū DUMU.DUMU^{MEŠ}-šū lū ŠEŠ^{MEŠ}-
šū lū DUMU^{MEŠ} ŠEŠ^{MEŠ}-šū lū LÚ^{nu} GAR^{nu} lū LÚ^{EN.NAM} lū
LÚ^{hazānu} (URU-šū) lū LÚ^{GAL.URUⁿⁱ} lū (other officials)
TA PN2 DUMU^{MEŠ}-šū TA DUMU.DUMU^{MEŠ}-šū dēnu dabābu

ubta'uni. 'Either (the seller) PN1 or his sons, his grandsons, his brothers, his nephews, the šaknu, the provincial-governor, the mayor (of his city), the village inspector) (other officials may be listed) against (the buyer)

who seek for litigation.' (110) The order of enumeration of these officials varies from text to text, but the *bēl-pāhete* occurs comparatively frequently in such passages⁽¹¹¹⁾.

Occasionally, the *bēl-pāhete* in such formulae is referred to as LÚ^{EN.NAM.URU-šū}⁽¹¹²⁾. This could mean that the office rather than the individual official is considered party to a particular transaction. To leave out the PN might of course also be a scribal habit or tradition.

To include state-officials in contracts might reflect an attitude of allowing the state some claim in transactions. On the other hand this practice ensures the legitimacy of the contract and is meant to prevent its violation.

ii) The NA penalty-clauses found in contracts state the form and amount of a compensation payable in case of non-ratification of the contract. This often disproportionately high amount is sometimes said to be payable to the provincial-governor, eg: 5 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR LUH²
MA.NA GUŠKIN sakru ana d^aMAŠ SUM^{an} 1 GÚ.UN AN.NA ana LÚ^{EN.NAM}
URU-šū SUM^{an} - 'He will pay five Mina of selected silver, two mina purified gold to the god Ninurta. He will pay 1 talent of tin to the provincial-governor of his city.' (113)

Such payment could be counted as a sort of tax towards public affairs; its collection would be part of the *bēl-pāhete*'s administrative responsibilities. This may be confirmed by a redemption document belonging to the crown-prince and dated to the year 656 BC. Bel-duri, the provincial-governor, is supposed to detain a pledgee until he pays the costs of his redemption-service⁽¹¹⁴⁾

In legal texts where the *bēl-pāhete* acts as a witness — by

including his official title alone , or the place of his authority or his title complete with his PN⁽¹¹⁵⁾; it is possible that he was acting as witness directly involved in the procedure of drawing up the contract, which would happen in the town-offices, where the important officials are available.

It can be concluded that the *bēl-pāhete* as an senior civil-servant played an important rôle in the public affairs of his time.

i) The collection of taxes

In the early days, occasional taxes were probably collected by somebody who would be sufficiently familiar with everybody in his town or village. As the Assyrian empire grew, relying on a system of regular taxation⁽¹¹⁶⁾, the collection of taxes became important enough to be handled by expert officials, e.g. the ^{LÚ}*mākisu* and the village inspector :^{LÚ}*GAL.URU*^{MES} (117). It would still be a local who would know his district well, but he was employed by the central government and appointed by somebody with overall responsibility over the whole area like the *bēl-pāhete*.

There is some evidence that the *bēl-pāhete* himself was involved in the collection of taxes, as well as their supervision and delivery to the capital.

ND 413 is an example of the provincial-governor's involvement in the collection of corn-taxes (*ŠE nusāhe*^{MES}) and refers to a difference between the *bēl-pāhete* of Kalhu and the one of Arzuhina⁽¹¹⁸⁾. Postgate explained that the dispute presumably arose because the provincial-governor of Arzuhina had ordered his tax-collector to collect the taxes from the area controlled by the *bēl-pāhete* of Kalhu, which might have been a royal grant to him within the province of Arzuhina and probably exempt from taxes⁽¹¹⁹⁾. This could be confirmed by lines 20-24, where the tenant-farmer in Arzuhina wonders why the corn-taxes are being levied this year: *ŠE nusāhe*^{MES}-ni la nashū atā ina MU. AN.NA annītu *ŠE nusaheni inasuhū*⁽¹²⁰⁾. Accordingly, l.r.19 could be restored to [^I]^d*UTU.EN.PAB* ^{LÚ}*EN.NAM* [·X·X·X·] since Šamaš-bēl-ušur was the provincial governor of Arzuhina as well as Eponym for the year 710BC⁽¹²¹⁾ and Aššur-taklak, the writer of this letter, was the steward in Arzuhina. The estate in question is therefore likely to have been in the possession of the *bēl-pāhete* of Kalhu outside his own immediate jurisdiction.

Another instance is reported to the *bēl-pāhete* of Kalhu concerning the collection of straw and fodder

(¹²² ŠE.IN.NU^{MEŠ}, ŠE kisutu) from the land of Da'unani (122). In another letter, the writer replies to the king, referring to his command ' "saying: the provincial-governors are to raise the bread and fodder from Šamaš-ahu-iddina (and) from you" ' (123). There is a letter concerning the delivery of fodder 'of the palace' from the bēl-pāhetes of Arba'il and Kilizu (124). In another letter Nabu-taklak replies to his master, the bēl-pāhete, saying: 'I have given a lot of rations (lit. food) on time.' - anāku ŠUK/PAD.HI.A simmamu attadina (125).

The tax-collection is also mentioned in a report written by Iddina-Aššur about the delivery of offerings to the god Aššur and the fifth-tax - SAG^{MEŠ} ša KUR-ka hamusu ša URU barhalzi. He asks the king to make enquiries of the scribe and the deputy of the provincial-governor of Barhalzi: LÚ A.BA LÚ 2-u ša LÚ EN.NAM ša URU bar[hal]zi LUGAL liš al[šunu mā atā hamusu ana dAššur la taddina - 'why did you not give the fifth to Assur?' (126). This scribe and the deputy were probably the immediate subordinates of the provincial-governor of Barhalzi (127) in charge of the delivery. His official was answerable to the central authority should any queries arise. For such eventualities, the officials would have to keep records of their deliveries and probably send copies of them to the palace.

The delivery of horses is another important responsibility of the provincial-governor. Postgate showed that these contributions were either made in the name of the province itself (128) or in the name of the provincial-governor (129). Other important officials such as the turtānu, nāgir-ekalli, rab-šāqī[^] etc had to come up with a similar contribution as the bēl-pāhete (130). There are two mentions of the provincial-governor in a report from Nabu-šumu-iddina to Esarhaddon (131). The first speaks about five cavalry horses of the bēl-pāhete of Kalhu (132). The second concerns four Kusean horses of the bēl-pāhete of Nineveh (133).

Other examples are ND 430⁽¹³⁴⁾ mentioning the *bēl-pāhete* of Arzuhina, ND 427⁽¹³⁵⁾ reporting the delivery of eleven horses by the provincial-governor of Halṣu and [X] by the one of Tamanuni.

The *bēl-pāhetes* who are found elsewhere in texts having some connection with taxes and similar data are listed in Fig.3. below.

Fig.3

References to tax-collection by *bēl-pāhetes*

	<i>bēl-pāhete</i>	province	sources	nature of collection
1	Abda'	URU/KUR Rašappa	ADD 764:3-4, cf ADD 854;12 =853:i,10	gold
2		"	ADD 873:6-8	list of officials
3	[]	"	ADD 705:4= ADD 859	list, see below 21'
4		"	ND 2640:5, Iraq XXIII(1961) 40	cattle & sheep
5	Adkalanni		ADD 867:9	see below 12,18, 19
6	Ahi-eriba	Nayala[ni]	ADD 864:5-6	list of PN
7	Ahi-imme	URU Hindan	ADD 942: r.5 TCAE 321-2,cf	bullocks & sheep
→ 9	Bel-našir	URU Kalhu	ADD 854:16 ADD 1104:3-4	see below 11,13,28,40 list of PN see below 15
10		"	ABL 71:12-13= TCAE 9,n.4	horses
8	Bēl-danan	Nayalāni	ADD 890:9-10	sheep & PN
11	Bel-usate	URU Sam'al	ADD 942:r 9-10	part of 7, see above
12	Ihni-adka		ADD 867:7	part of 5, " "
13	Layati-ilu	URU Amēdi	ADD 942:r. 7-8 TCAE 321-2	part of 7,11" "
14	Marduk[]	KUR []	ADD 1020:10-11, v.1	sheep etc, see below
15	Nabu-kušur(u)	URU Arzuhina	ADD 1104:5-6	part of 8, see above
16	[] fanni	"	ND 430=GPA 127	horses and mules
17		"	ND 413:4-5= GPA 196=TCAE,368	corn-taxes, see below. 20
18	Niluya-han[x]		ADD 867:8	part of 5,12 above
19	Suali		ADD 867:10cf ADD 853:ii,2	" " 5,12,18 above
20	Šamaš-bel-ušur	URU Kalhi	ND 413:8-9=GPA 196=TCAE 368	part of 17 above
21	[]	KUR Arrapha	ADD 705:5=ADD 859	part of 3 above
22	bēl-pāhete	URU Ninua	ADD 822:2-3	silver ration
23	"	"	ND 2640:27	part of 4 above
24	"	"	ABL 973=TCAE 9,n 27	horses
25		KUR Šappame	ADD 832:r1	part of 22 above

Fig. 3 continued

<i>bēl-pāhete</i>	province	sources	nature of collection
26 <i>bēl-pāhete</i>	<i>URU</i> <i>Haurina</i>	ADD 922:i,4	list of PN
27 "	<i>URU</i> <i>Kirruri</i>	ADD 922:iv,9	part of 26 above
28 "	<i>URU</i> <i>Qarnina</i>	ND 2803:ii,30, Iraq XXIII, 56, (horses) ADD 942:4	part of 7,11,13
29 "	<i>URU</i> <i>Gargamiš</i>	ADD 942: r.3	part of 7,11,13,28
30 "	<i>URU</i> <i>Tuṣhan</i>	ADD 942: r.6	" " " " "
31 "	<i>KUR</i> <i>Zamua</i>	ADD 1020:6-7, r 1	part of 14 above
32 "	<i>URU</i> <i>Halṣu</i>	ND 427:1-3=GPA 128	horses
33 "	<i>URU</i> <i>Tamanuni</i>	ND 427:8-7=GPA 128	part of 32 above
34 "	<i>URU</i> <i>Arba'il</i>	ND 2640:30-31	part of 4,23
35 "	"	CT 53,333:1 r6	cattle and sheep
36 "	"	CT 53,47,7	rations
37 "	<i>URU</i> <i>Kilizu</i>	ND 2803:ii 21.; Iraq XXIII(1961) 56	part of 27
38 "	"	CT 53,333:r4	part of 36 above
39 "	<i>KUR</i> <i>Raqmat</i>	ND 2803:-r.ii,21	part of 27,37 above
40 "	<i>URU</i> []	ADD 942: r.1	part of 7,11,13,28
41 "	[]	ND 2640:9	part of 4,23,34
42 "	[]	ND 2640:10	" " " " " ,41
43 "	[]	ND 2640:12	" " " " " ,42
44 "	[]	ND 2461=TCAE 147,1.7	bowls
45 "		ND 462=GPA 195	rations
46 "		ND 452=GPA 130	horses
47 "		ND 2495:4-6= TCAE 381-3, Iraq XXVIII(1966)183	rations
48 "		TH 53.53	horses
49 "		TH 51+77:1	list of PN
50. "	<i>URU</i> <i>Karbail</i>	ND 2476; Iraq XXIII,31 ND 2638; Iraq XXIII,39	ration sheep

iii) The *bēl-pāhete*'s relation to official property

A number of NA texts illustrate the *bēl-pāhete*'s relationship to royal, official and also private property as part of his administrative responsibility.

There is a fragmentary letter in reply to the king's query why the *bēl-pāhete* will not 'done the service of the royal property': *atā* ^{LÚ} ^{EN.NAM} *ša* ^{UR} ^[X.X.X] *dullu ša É-ia la epa-[š]-Bītīya* ⁽¹³⁶⁾ in this

context may mean the palace as such rather than the more current meaning of 'my property'. It may also be an indication of the *bēl-pāhete*'s direct responsibility for the king's estate apart from his ordinary administrative duties.

ABL 916 and ABL 179 are concerned with a property belonging to a person called Mardi/u ⁽¹³⁷⁾ who owned an estate within the provinces of Barhalza and Arba'il.

ABL 916 is a broken letter, but it is clear that the *bēl-pāhete* of Barhalza had direct dealings with Mardi's property. It is written by Mardi himself to Esarhaddon ⁽¹³⁸⁾, and he says: 'The messenger of the crown-prince was sent to me (with an order saying:) - His field (and) orchards which the provincial-governor of Barhalza had taken from him illegally (lit. by force) you must return and give to him.'

^[X.X.X] ^{LÚ} ^{GIŠ} ^{SAR} ^{MES} ^{J-šū} ^{ša} ^{LÚ} ^{EN.NAM} ^{ša} ^{KUR} *barhalza ihbīlšuni tu-sāhar ta^danāssu* ^(22.8-10)

He goes on to praise the king and the crown-prince and requests an audience with the king. He then continues: ' (About) the damages which I have turned over to the crown-prince, my lord. The king, my lord, has written saying: -"Return and give (back) his damages. "⁽¹³⁹⁾ Now Si'rapa', the provincial governor refuses to give it (back), saying: "the king knows" '. - *habalātāya ša ana DUMU LUGAL EN-*

-ia ahhurūni LUGAL bēlī issīya išpurūni mā hibilātešu
 saḥḫira dina umā ^ISi'rapa' ^{LÚ}EN.NAM la imagur la iddan
 mā LUGAL mudī(x.x) ^(17.16-17r.1) It would seem that Mardi was
 under the authority of the provincial-governor of
 Barhalza, who is likely to be Si'rapa' mentioned in
 the above text. The reason why the property was taken
 by the provincial-governor is unknown, as is the
 nature of Mardi's service. It is possible that these
 estates were a royal grant and Mardi had to go direct-
 ly to the king in order to enforce the royal order
 to return the land which Si'rapa' refused to give
 up.

¹⁴⁰ In the second letter (ABL 179) Mardi's estates
 are located within the province of Arba'il.

Amar-ilu, the writer, seems to act as a kind of
 royal agent⁽¹⁴¹⁾. It contains Esarhaddon's order to
 Amar-ilu and the bēl-pāhete of Arba'il to settle
 the property of Mardi's sons.
 - ina UGU É ^Imardu
 ša LUGAL EN iqḫūni mā attā <u> ^{LÚ}EN.NAM ša 4 DINGIR É
 kī ahīš birti DUMU ^{MES}mardu [two lines broken]

Waterman suggested that Amar-ilu, the
 writer, was himself the bēl-pāhete of Arba'il⁽¹⁴²⁾.
 This is not likely because of obvious grammatical
 reasons⁽¹⁴³⁾ and because Amar-ilu never figures as
 bēl-pāhete in any other text. In either case, our
 bēl-pāhete is involved in these property-dealings
 on behalf of the king.

ADD 447⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ confirms that Mardi had official
 property in Barhalza and illuminates his relation-
 ship with the local bēl-pāhete. He appears to be
 the joint seller with the 'village-inspector'
 of seventeen slaves and an orchard in Nabur:
 NA⁴ KIŠIB ^Imartu' ^{LÚ}GAL.URU ^{MES}ša ^{MI}É.GAL⁽¹⁴⁵⁾
 NA⁴ KIŠIB ^Imardi PAP 2 ^{LÚ}MES ^{IR}MES ša ^{LÚ}EN.NAM ša
 KUR barhalza EN UN ^{MES}SUMⁿⁱ (sold slaves), (and)
 GIŠ^š SAR ša zamar PAP 17 ZI ^{MES}GIŠ^š SAR ina URU nabur
 LU ^{IR}MES ^šsa ^I[mar]tu ša ^Imardi' upišma [^{MI}PAP]
 d/ṭalli ^{MI}šakin[tu] ša URU NINA KI TA [IGI ^{LÚ}MES
 an]nūtu [ina libbi [x]KÙ.BABBAR ša U^{RU} garga[miš]
 [ilqū]⁽¹⁴⁷⁾. This proves clearly that Mardi was

one of the subordinate officials of the provincial-governor of Barhalza. The sale described probably concerned official property since the seller and the buyer are distinguished with their official titles. This document was drawn up in the twenty-first year of Sennacherib's reign (681BC), which was his last year on the throne. It looks as if Mardi had been granted some estate in Barhalza by Sennacherib and later continued to serve under Esarhaddon, when his fields and orchards were seized by Ši'rapa', the *bēl-pāhete* of that province. The nature of Mardi's employment under the provincial-governor of Barhalza is unknown. Once more Mardi occurs as a seller in a broken context : $lū^I mardī lū DUMU^{MEŠ} -$
 $šū] lū DUMU.DUMU^{MEŠ} - šū TA I.d 15.BAD ū DUMU^{MEŠ} - šū$
 $ū DUMU.DUMU^{MEŠ} - šū dēnu KA.KA ubta) uni^{(48)} .$

It seems that some royal grants could be owned collectively by a number of officials. This is confirmed by ADD 625, where Nergal-ilaya, the provincial-governor of Lahiri,, Sin-šar-ušur, his deputy, Murasu, his Third-Officer and Zabinu, his 'Holder of the Reins' were the sellers of the whole village of Bahaya including a house, 500 fields and seed-corn. Atar-ilu, the eunuch of the crown-prince of Babylon, was the buyer⁽¹⁴⁹⁾. This document is dated to the year 670 BC, Eponym of Šulmu-bel-lašme, the provincial-governor of Dēr . It is significant that the fields sold were exempt from corn-taxes and straw-taxes ($A.SA^{V\wedge} šuātu^{SE} nusāhešu la inassuhū^{SE} IN.$
 $NU-šū la išabaš^{(150)}$), which presumably denotes its status as a royal grant for which such privileges would not be unusual⁽¹⁵¹⁾. On the other hand, since both sellers and buyers were officials, it could be assumed that this was another case of selling official property.

The *bēl-pāhete* of Barhalza was again accused of dispossessing Adad-šum-iddina, the writer and claimant of the following text, from his field:
 'The father of the king, my lord, has given me ten

homers of cultivated field in the land of Halahhi.
(For) fourteen years I enjoyed (the use of) the
field, no-one had a claim against me. Now the
provincial-governor of Barhalza has come (here),
maltreated the farmer, plundered his house (and)
dispossessed (me) of the field.

- AD-š^vu š^va LUGAL EN-ia

10 ANŠEŠE.NUMUN ina KUR^v halahhi ittanha 14 MU.AN.NA^{MES}
A.ŠA^v ātakal memēni issiya la iddibub umā LÚ^v EN.NAM
ša^v KUR^v barhalzi ittalka LÚ^v ENGAR ihtesi É-su imtaša^v
A.ŠA^v iptuāg (152)

The land of Halahhi
must have been under the jurisdiction of the bēl-
pāhete of Barhalza; the two regions might have been
adjacent. Again, we do not know why the field was
taken by the provincial-governor. The indignant
tone of the letter points to unlawful actions.
Adad-š^vum-iddina was probably an official of some
sort, since he was given the field as a grant
by the king's father.

A similar behaviour is described of the bēl-
pāhete of Guzana by the writer of letter ND 2800
whose name is broken: TA UGU A.ŠA^{MES} ša^v LÚ^v EN.NAM
ša^v URU^v guzana ipūguni[ni^v] - 'Concerning the fields

of which the provincial governor of Guzana dispossessed
me (153).

Another case of interference by
a bēl-pāhete is presented in letter ABL 415. Two
people, Šallaya, 'the house-overseer' and Marduk-
ēreš the scribe are writing to the king. They
accuse the bēl-pāhete of Arrapha^{of} having taken
away their 'master's' property which apparently
had been given to him as a 'gift' (tidintu). They
ask the king to send one of his attendants in order
to investigate the problem and make a decision.
'É EN^{MES}-ni LÚ^v NAM^{MES}-ni tad-iš LUGAL la udā^v LÚ^v EN.NAM
ša 4-ha tidintu ša LUGAL ana bēlīni iddinūni iptuagga (154)

The last three examples seem to indicate that
the provincial-governor was able to take matters into
his own hands. It is significant that in all these
cases where the bēl-pāhete is accused of misbehaving
or transgressing his authority, the king is asked to

send an official to make inquiries who would then report back to him. Apparently the king's final decision had to be backed up by such evidence. Once found guilty, the accused could be punished, particularly in cases where royal or official property was at stake.

There is one instance where the provincial-governor informed the king in advance of some potential problem (ABL 916:rl - see above p.116).

Further evidence of the *bēl-pāhete*'s responsibility towards official property is found in a letter from Kišir-Aššur to the king: '... As far

as the houses of the servants of Šepe-Aššur of which the king, my lord, has written to me saying " why did you take the houses (and) gave them to your servants?"

- When Šepe-Aššur went to the town of Šimiri, his servants went with him, (therefore) I took away their houses (and) gave them to the Marqesean people.

Let Šepe-Aššur exercise governorship there.

ina UGU E^{MEŠ} ša LU^{IR}MEŠ ša I^{GIR}II-aššur ša
LUGAL bēlī išpuranni mā atā E^{MEŠ}-šunu tašši ana
LU^{IR}MEŠ-ka tuđin aki I^{GIR}II-aššur ana URU šimiri illik-
uđi LU^{IR}MEŠ-šu issesu ittalku E^{MEŠ}-šunu attiši ana
LU marhasaya attidin (155)

Since the houses concerned here were given to officials, it is possible to assume that the writer Kišir-Aššur was an official with the rank of a provincial-governor in Dur-šarruken. This may be confirmed by another broken letter. It concerns the same Kišir-aššur, LU^{EN.NAM} ša URU^{BAD.XX}. DU (156). His authority over Dur-šarruken can also be deducted from his own report about an earthquake which affected the town: TA^{URU} milqia ana URU^{BAD.XX}. DU^{ata} laka iqtibuni mā rību UD 9 KAM ša ITI^{ŠE} ina URU^{BAD.XX}. DU^{irtuaba}. - 'From Milqia I have come to Dur-šarruken (and) they told me that an earthquake took place in Dur-šarruken on the ninth day of the month Adar'. (157). If Kišir-aššur of ABL 190 and 191 is identical with the one of ABL 989 then he must have been appointed immediately after the transfer of Šepe-Aššur from Dur-šarruken to Šimiri. He was in charge of the officials' houses which were then taken over by Kišir-Aššur.

As well as being responsible for royal and official property, the *bēl-pāhete* had to provide labour forces for major public building projects and the digging of canals. ABL 486 shows the provincial governor of Arrapha and his colleague from Kalhu actually engaged in such governmental work:

ina UGU pilki ša LÚ^{EN.NAM} ša URU^{EN.NAM}
kalha ša LUGAL bēlīya išpuranni mā atā LÚ^{EN.NAM}
ša URU⁴-ha mešli KÁ.GAL ina IGI-šu uramme

Concerning the section (work) of the provincial-governor of Kalha about which the king, my lord, has written to me: "Why did the provincial governor of Arrapha leave the half of the great gate (for which) he is responsible?" (158)

He goes on to explain how he organized the work and how much each *bēl-pāhete* has to be responsible for.

Another time, the *bēl-pāhete* of Kalhu is supervising the works on the front gate of Halzi at Kalhu. Nin-urta-ilaya, the writer of this report, tells his master, the provincial-governor of Kalhu, that one-hundred men have been brought down from Nineveh (159). It seems likely, as Postgate suggested (160), that this concerned works at Kalhu itself, which were executed in the absence of the provincial-governor at the time the report was written. It is probably about the the same Great Gate mentioned above, because they both seem to have been located at the eastern side of the city wall. This can be deduced from the fact that the *bēl-pāhete* of Arrapha was operating outside his area of jurisdiction and because Halzi is located somewhere south-east of Nineveh (161).

Apart from building-maintenance, the *bēl-pāhete* was also in charge of the canals as this report from Tab-šar-Aššur to Sargon shows: [p]aqaḥa LÚ^{TIN} ša pān
hirīte ittalka ina pānīya ititizi mā LÚ^{ERIN} MĒŠ ina

UGU hirīte LUGAL urtadi mā LÚ^{rādiani} laššu mā LÚ^{EN.NAM}
ša URU¹ qalmusa [1]a emūqašu LÚ^{ERIN} MĒŠ [1a]iradi.

'Paqaha the architect (who is in charge) of the digging of the canal has come (and) stood before me saying: "The labour in charge of the canal the king has extended has not materialized' (lit. there is no additional labour'. The provincial-governor of Talmusa is unable to lead the labour." (K2.)

A similar responsibility of labour forces is attested in ABL 89. Tab-šil-ešarra, šakin-māti of Aššur, writes requesting Sargon to transfer the ship of the bēl-pāhete of Arrapha used as a ferry at Opis to Bab-bitai (K3).

The bēl-pāhete's authority concerning *dullu ša šarri* - the 'service of the king' (K64) may be a further indication of special duties for the king.

The provincial governor's official relationships with individuals or groups of people are illustrated by several letters. There is the case of the bēl-pāhete's controversial dealings with the slaves of the lady Saraya (see p. 101) and in ND 424, Nergal-eṭirdeems it necessary to inform his master, the bēl-pāhete, in some detail about his selection of captives (see p. 101). ND 421 has the palace-supervisor (LU ša IGI É.GAL) requesting the bēl-pāhete to order his builders to finish their silver-plating of a drawing-chariot (K65).

The bēl-pāhete's authority could not extend to temple properties. Mar-Ištar writes to the king saying: ' LU EN.NAM ša URU BĀD-ša truku ina pāniti NA 4 KIŠIB-ea iptete 10 mana K[Ū BA]BBAR 1 [L]I[M]' 4.ME UDU MEŠ 15 GU 4 MEŠ [ša d šī]-imalūa ū [d humhu]m ittišī (break) [...] LU NAM[MEŠ] [š]a Panātuš[šū] memēni TA É.[DINGIR MEŠ] la iššiu umā šū isīyaṭ É-na[kkante] ša DINGIR ū LUGAL EN-ia iptete KŪ.BABBAR ittišī kīma LU GAR.KUR LU EN.NAM ša URU NINA u URU 4.DINGIR KŪ.BABBAR TA É.DINGIR MEŠ ittašū šū lišši nakkantu ša DINGIR ū XX EN-ia šī atā ubadudū. 'The provincial-governor of Dur-Šarruken has (already) previously opened my seal (and) removed 10 mana of silver, 1400 sheep (and) 15 oxen (belonging to the gods) Šimalu'a and (Humhu)m. (Break). The governor(s) who were before him did not remove anything from the temples. Now he has (again) acted recklessly, opened the treasure-house of the god and the king, my lord, and carried silver away. If the provincial-governor of (Aššur)

(and) the provincial-governor of Niñevēh and Arba'il take silver from the temples (then) may he take it also. It is the treasure of the god and the king, my lord, (so) why do they squander it? (166) This letter indicates that the *bēl-pāhetes* should not interfere with the temple administration within their provinces, since this sector was separately dealt with by religious officials.

It is unknown why the provincial governor of Dur-Šarruken acted like this but it seems that the property of temples was beyond the legal control of the *bēl-pāhete*. Such apparently illegal trespassing into the affairs of the temple had to be investigated by a specially dispatched officer.

There is another text referring to a similar occurrence in Babylonia. Some provincial-governors there were accused of having taken the *šibtu*-tax of cattle and sheep belonging to the gods Bēl, Nabû and Nergal. It says in the following report which was sent to the central administrative authority: *ina ūGU šibti ša GU₄ MES¹ UDU² MES³ ša d⁴EN d⁵AK ù d⁶U.GUR ša LU⁷NAM⁸ MES⁹ iššaba-tūni* (167). There is no further explanation and this text might be a reminder following a previous one. The author seems to be some sort of temple-official, probably in charge of accounts. Postgate assumed that this letter was unlikely to have been addressed to the king because of its unceremonious style and that it could also have been written after the king's death and at the time of Šamaš-sumu-ukin's installation on the Babylo-

nian throne, about 668 BC. (168)

Because the provincial-governor is the overall authority within the province, a report (ND 455) (169) was sent to him from a subordinate official, perhaps a secretary, telling him about employees of the *turtānu*'s household (ie a cook, a cultivator and a baker), who were assigned to him by the royal document.

Among the variety of duties concerning taxation and official property, the provincial-governors must have faced various temptations to transgress the limit of their responsibility. The above cases seem to illustrate the all too human fallibility of these NA officials.

iv. Duties concerning religious observation and offerings

There are a few letters which indicate that the *bēl-pāhete* was involved in religious rites. A report from Urzana, the vassal-ruler of Muṣaṣir⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ to the palace herald (*nāgir-ekālli*) says: 'The provincial-governor of Uasi (and) the provincial-governor of the Ukean district have come to me. They are performing a ritual in the temple...They will perform a ritual in Muṣaṣir('s temple).' As you wrote to me saying: "Without the king's command may no one put his hand to the rite." ^{LU}EN.NAM ša ^{URU}uasi ^{LU}EN.NAM ša qani ^{KUR}ukāya italkūni dullu in É.DINGIR eppušū ...ina ^{URU}muṣaṣir dullu eppušū ša tašpurāni mā ša pī ša LUGAL memēni Ā-šu ina dulli lu la ubala⁽¹⁷¹⁾. Urzana is known to have been a subordinate official of Sargon⁽¹⁷²⁾. The nature of these rites is not known, but they must have been rather important since no one was allowed to participate without royal permission. The provincial-governors involved in this case come from foreign provinces; they represented the Assyrian king on such important occasions. It is possible that they were native officials elevated to the rank of provincial-governor.

Their presence at such rites would be part of their duties as well as emphasize their loyalty to the king. There are several non-Assyrian names associated with *bēl-pāhete* as shown in Fig.8⁽¹⁷³⁾.

Another broken report^{from Akkulanu} to Esarhaddon shows the provincial-governor involved in some kind of hearth-festival and sacrifice⁽¹⁷⁴⁾. This text is too damaged to yield more precise information about the provincial-governor's responsibility for these festivals; it may however, be similar to those above in ABL 49.

The *bēl-pāhete* was also responsible for the delivery of regular animal-offerings to the great gods in Assyria and probably elsewhere as well. Akkulanu

again reports to Esarhaddon, claiming that some *bēl-pāhete* were defaultingⁱⁿ their sheep-deliveries to Aššur: *annūte* ^{LU}*GAL* ^{MES}*ša* ^{UDU}*darē* ^{la}*iddinūnī* ^{LU}*EN.NAM* ^{KUR}*barhalza* ^{KUR}*raṣappa* ^{URU}*kalzi* ^{URU}*isana* ^{URU}*tīle* ^{KUR}*kullania* ^{KUR}*arpadda* ^{PAP}*ša* ^{darē}*la iddinūn[ī]*. These are the nobles who did not give (their) sheep-sacrifices: the provincial-governor of Barhalza, Raṣappa, Kalzu, Isana, Tille, Kullania and Arpadda, all did not give (their) sheep-sacrifices. (175) Another broken report deals with a similar assignment consisting of 17 lambs for the temple of Dagan: [7 ^{UDU}*ša*] ^{URU}*kalzi* 10 ^{UDU}*ša* ^{URU}*BAD-samedī* ^{PAP} 17 ^{UDU}*ša* ^E*dagan* (176). The *bēl-pāhete* mentioned in obv.1.4 may have had responsibility for their delivery analogous to ABL 43 above.

ADD 942⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ consists of a broken list of oxen and sheep sent by various provincial-governors outside the Assyrian home-land. It has been interpreted as tribute or tax revenue. However, the number of animals is small, and it would seem more likely for them to be the *bēl-pāhete*'s contribution towards a festival⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ or religious occasion. The mention of a special kind of ox (*GU₄ sisalhu*) also points towards its use as an offering. The names of some provincial-governors are mentioned in this list and can be found in Fig.3 Nos.7,11 and 13.

V. The *bēl-pāhete*'s military activity.

There is evidence that the *bēl-pāhete* was responsible for the defence of his province, for gathering and reporting information ("intelligence") and also was himself sometimes directly involved in subsequent military campaigns. Responsibility for co-ordinating any Assyrian military action in his area is one of the functions of the *bēl-pāhete*, especially when located in border-regions or in foreign lands. Royal inscriptions indicate that the provincial-governor was involved directly in such action. The phrase with which they are identified is ^{LU}*sūt-rēšiya* ^{LU}*bēl-pāhāte* ^{MES}...*elišunu uma'ir/āšpur*. Accordingly, they were sent by Sargon against Urzana of Muṣašir during his eighth campaign⁽¹⁷⁹⁾, and in 710 BC others were ordered to attack Babylon⁽¹⁸⁰⁾, while

the *bēl-pāhāte* of the eastern provinces were dispatched to avenge Espabara from Šuturnahunda the Elamite⁽¹⁸¹⁾. Sennacherib however, claims that he went to the aid of his *rāb-šāqī* and the *bēl-pāhāte* who were previously sent against Marduk-apla-iddina at Kish⁽¹⁸²⁾. When Nabu-zer-kitti-lišir, governor of the Sea-land attacked Ningal-iddina, the *šakin-māti* of Ur, the subject of Esarhaddon (^{LU}*ardu dāgil pāniya*), the latter ordered his *bēl-pāhāte* to advance toward Ur in order to save him. The consequence was the escape of Nabu-zer-kitti-lišir and his brother to Elam⁽¹⁸³⁾. For further discussion of this matter see p.38. Once more Esarhaddon sent his provincial-governors to support his vassals Uppis and Zanasana of Patakka and Ramateia of Urakazabarna, the Medes' chieftain, who had been attacked by neighbouring tribal enemies⁽¹⁸⁴⁾. Ramateia is known as a vassal-ruler of Esarhaddon from the treaty imposed on the former in 672 BC⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ which is confirmed here and also indicates their cooperation. Furthermore, there are instances where the *bēl-pāhāte* were sent by Ashurbanipal against Tandaya the Dereaeon⁽¹⁸⁶⁾ on the one hand, whereas the *turtānu* and the *bēl-pāhāte* were ordered to march against Egypt⁽¹⁸⁷⁾. Similarly, the *rāb-šāqī*, the *bēl-pāhāte* and the ruler of *ebir-nāri*, subjects of Ashurbanipal, their troops and ships together with the vassal-rulers of Egypt were added to his armies and dispatched them to oust Tirqa from Egypt⁽¹⁸⁸⁾. This leaves no doubt that the provincial-governors concerned each had his own army which was stationed within his provinces, particularly those in border regions where enemy attacks were expected. Therefore a strong and well armed Assyrian army stationed in the border zones of the empire was obviously desirable in order to save it from any revolt and to protect the frontiers.

As well as the military capability, this indicates that these provincial governors occupied a high rank within the Assyrian hierarchy. The royal correspondence confirms this military involvement and in them some of these officials were stated to have been killed, captured, or to have escaped from captivity. It may be significant that the extant evidence comes from the troubled border regions of Urartu,

Babylonia and Elam.

Aššur-rešua⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ features in the extensive Assyrian intelligence correspondence from the northern frontier, which concerned Urartians, the Mannaeans including Ukkeans⁽¹⁹⁰⁾, Turušpa⁽¹⁹¹⁾, Kummueans⁽¹⁹²⁾ and Kurba'il⁽¹⁹³⁾. The *hēl-pāhete*'s military activity is attested in eight out of a total of at least twenty reports from him to Sargon directly, or indirectly via Sennacherib⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ or other correspondents⁽¹⁹⁵⁾. He reports to Sargon that three provincial-governors went to watch over the Mannean border:

An-alaqunu, the provincial-governor of Mušasir, Tunnaun, the provincial-governor of Kar-sipari went to the Mannean border for the watch.⁽¹⁹⁶⁾ Similarly, he reports on five Urartian provincial-governors entering the city of Uesi.⁽¹⁹⁷⁾

This could only be an intelligence report of activity in Uasi within the hostile (Urartian) territory, or in an area at least temporarily under Assyrian control, since there is no mention of any troops being involved, as they are in another report from Aššur-rešua (ABL 380):

3 LIM LÚ ERIN^{MES} GÍR II.MES LÚ GAR-nu^{URU} GAL.KAL.LAP^{MES}
 ša I setini EN.NAM ša pūtūa ana mušasir uttamešu ID
 GE6 ētabur ša I suna LÚ EN.NAM ša pūt ukāya LÚ ERIN^{MES}
 šu uttamīšūma ana URU mušasir. '3000 foot-soldiers,
 LÚ saknute-officers (and) the chief of Kallapu-official
 of Setini, the provincial-governor who is opposite me,
 have set out for Mušasir. They crossed the Black-River...
 As for Suna, the provincial-governor who is opposite
 the Ukeans, his soldiers have moved to Mušasir.⁽¹⁹⁸⁾

This report does not give any reasons why those two provincial-governor's troops had gone to Mušasir. It could be argued that ABL 409:1-15⁽¹⁹⁹⁾ is the answer to this question, because Urzana, the ruler of Mušasir⁽²⁰⁰⁾, is the writer, and in both letters (ABL 380 and 409) the Urartian king's *hēl-pāhetes* who were stationed somewhere opposite Mušasir and Ukkean territory are also concerned. ABL 409 may well be a reply to the *nāgir ekalli*'s question, where are the Urartian king and his forces stationed? (*ša tašpurāni mā LUGAL^{KUR} TILLA-ya adi emuqqīšu...ūšah*). Urzana answers that the Urartian king will go and stay in Uesi, according to the information from the *hēl-pāh-*

etes of Uesi and of Ukkean lands, who made a statement -
idabtu mā LUGAL illak ina ^{URU} *uesi išša* when they came
 to Mušašir to participate in religious rites⁽²⁰¹⁾. So
 the *nāgīr-ekalli* presumably reported this directly or
 indirectly to Sargon. This may be substantiated by
 ABL 1079 which is another report from Sennacherib to
 Sargon concerning the death of the *bēl-pāhete* of Uesi:
^{LÚ} *2-ú ša* ^{LÚ} *DIŠ.U É.GAL [ina pān] iya ittalka mā* ^I *urzanna*
^[is] *sapra mā* ^{LÚ} *KUR TILLA-ya [ittalka] ūni bit illikūni[m]ā*
^{LÚ} *emūqēšu dēka mā* ^{LÚ} *EN.NAM ša* ^{URU} *uesi dēki* - 'The deputy
 of the palace herald has come to my (presence) saying:
 Urzana has sent (word): "When the Urartean (king) came
 (against) me, his forces were defeated. The provincial-
 governor of Uesi was killed" ⁽²⁰²⁾. This may imply
 that Urzana of Mušašir was of inferior status to the
nāgīr-ekalli. ABL 409 and 1079 may reveal that Urzana
 somehow regained his authority over Mušašir after his
 defeat by Sargon and the annexation of Mušašir to
 another province⁽²⁰³⁾. It is likely that Sargon had
 pardoned him and re-installed him as a vassal-ruler
 under the authority of Sargon's *nāgīr-ekalli*, presumably
 under certain conditions, as this important piece of
 military intelligence reports. Urzana's seal with its
 cuneiform inscription and his Assyrian-type costume may
 also confirm this new position⁽²⁰⁴⁾.

In such operations nine non-Assyrian *bēl-pāhetes*
 were killed as reported in ABL 646. Because of the
 similarity between this report and ABL 381, 444, 380 in
 subject-matter, style and location, it is likely that
 this is another report from Aššur-rešua:

- 5 [9 ^{LÚ} *FN.NA*] ^M *MFŠ* - *šu dēkū*
- 6 [^{LÚ} *FN.NAM* *ša pūt* ^{LÚ} *GAL BI.LU*] ^[I]
- 7 [^{LÚ} *FN.NA*] ^M *ša pūt ni*
- 8 [^{LÚ} *FN.NAM* *ša pūt* *šal-aššur-dubu*
- 9 ^{LÚ} *FN.NAM* *ša pūt* ^{URU} *mušaširi*
- 10 ^{LÚ} *FN.NAM* *ša* ^{KUR} *Uasae*
- 11 ^{LÚ} *FN.NAM* *ša* [^{KUR} *šip[x]ur*
- 12 2 ^{LÚ} *FN.NAM* ^M *MFŠ* *ša pūt* [*KA*] *R .UD.KA.BAR*
- 13 ^{LÚ} *FN.NAM* *ša* ^{KUR} *šqterra*
- 14 *PAP 9* ^{LÚ} *FN.NAM* ^M *MFŠ* - *šu*
- 15 *dēkū*

The pronoun -šu (L.14) refers presumably to their ruler (Obv.2; cf r.1 *ū LUGAL-šunu*) i.e. the Urartean king. If so this confirms that they were not Assyrians, but Urartians locally appointed. Ša-Aššur-dubbu, in 1.8, was *šakin-māti* of Tušhan (see Fig.13,106;12:12).

There are at least three more reports from Aššur-rešua to Sargon which had been delivered through Sennacherib, as the head of this military intelligence while he was crown-prince. They are concerned mainly with

Urartu, Gammur, Ukkean and Mušašir: *I aššur-rešua issapra mā tēmu KUR TILLA-ya mā pānīu ša āšpurāni mā šutuma šū mā dīktu ina libbišunu ma'da dēkat mā umā KUR-su niḥāt mā LUGAL MES-šu iamutu ina libbi KUR-šu ittalak mā I GAG.DU-anu LUGAL turtānušū šābit mā LUGAL KUR TILLA-ya ina ŠA KUR uazakal šū anniu tēmu ša I aššur-rešua I. d PA-ZU (205) LUGAL EN.NAM ša URU hašū ina muhhiya issapra mā ina UGU LUGAL EN.NAM ša URU birāte ša ina UGU tahūme ina UGU tēmu ša LUGAL KUR TILLA-ya assapra mā <ana> KUR PAP-ir bīt illikūni mā LUGAL emūqēšu ana mala dēka mā 3 LUGAL MES-šu adu LUGAL emūqēšunu dēkū mā šuātu ihtalqa ana KUR-šu ētarba mā madāktusu udiḥni la taqqariba anniu tēmu ša I. d PA.ZU Aššur-rešua has written saying:*

"The earlier report about the Urartians which I wrote, that is so, there was a defeat. Among it there have been many heavy losses. Now his land is calm. His officials have each gone to his own territory. Qaqqaduanu, his commander-in-chief (*turtānu*) has been captured. The king of Urartu is himself in the land of Wazakal. This is the report of Aššur-rešua. Nabu-le'u, the provincial-governor of the fortress has written as follows: Concerning the garrison of the fort which is along the border, concerning the report (which) I sent about the king of Urartu. When he went (to) the land of Gamir his forces were defeated utterly. Three of his officials together with their forces were killed (while) he himself escaped and returned to his own land. His (military) camp is known but has not been attacked (approached) yet. This is the report of Nabu-le'u. (206)

In this, both Aššur-rešua and Nabu-le'u, the provincial governor of Hašū, confirm the defeat of the Urartean king and the heavy losses among

his troops. It also indicates the rôle of Nabu-le'u in gathering and reporting military information to Assyria.

As a result of the participation of *bēl-pāhetes* in military activities some were captured by the Urartians. This is so in another report from Sennacherib to Sargon where he says that Aryae has sent him news about the Urartean king:

LÚ_{EN.NAM}^{MEŠ}-te ša LUGAL KUR^{aššur} KI ina URU^{ku-}
maya TI.LA-ute The captured provincial-governors of the king
of Assyria are alive in the Kumean city. (207)

In a third report from Sennacherib the provincial-governor of Uesi has been killed:
LÚ_{EN.NAM} ša URU^{uēsî} dēki (208).

The above examples show how Aššur-rešua, if our assumption is correct, had a wide range of intelligence sources on which to base his reports. This may imply that he was under Sennacherib to whom, presumably this information was funnelled as head of the intelligence bureau. Aššur-rešua was probably stationed in Kummū since most of his reports concern this area and he refers to having received his information there (209).

Ištar-šum-iqiša reports to the king about a *bēl-pāhete* who was accused by Zikirtean envoys (LÚ^{MAH}^{MEŠ}) of being negligent of reporting to them about the Urartean attack on their territories. He therefore explains the situation and tries to prove that the provincial-governor was innocent of their charges saying: umā birti IGI^{MAH}^{MEŠ} ša LÚ^{MAH}^{MEŠ} lu-madidū mā'da LÚ^{MAH}^{MEŠ} KA-šunu ušabalkutū mā TA KA ša LÚ^{EN}. [NAM] la nišmē ana LÚ^{MAH} 2-e LUGAL lišāl šūtu DU^{zu} aki ana LU^{turtān} tēmu iškunūni - 'Now they should make it quite clear to the envoys many envoys have spoken insolently saying "We have not heard the (provincial) governor say this". May the king, my lord, enquire of a second envoy (because) he was himself present when they made the report (order) to the commander-in-chief.' (210) This implies that the provincial governor concerned was also present when the decision was made, presumably that the *turtānu* had to deal with these Urartean invaders. He thus may have reported details of this meeting with the envoys to Ištar-šum-iqiša, the writer, otherwise the latter must have been present as well.

This type of diplomatic communication concerning border transgressions may be seen also in ABL 548 where a *bēl-pāhete* is concerned with a diplomatic envoy sent by (Nashur)-bel, the writer, into Urarṭu covering infringements of the borders or the like.

The matter was duly reported to the king: 'ina UGU tēme ša ^{KUR}TILLĀ-ya ^{LÚ}A.KIN[-ya/šū-it] talka ^{LÚ}EN.NAM [ša] ina qa?tūa ašpurūni ittalka KĪ ša LUGAL bēli išpuranni iddu-bāššū mā atā anīnu salmāni attunu attunu ^{URU}halšū^{MES}-ni kušabbata mā anāku menū lēpuš mā šumma ina taḥūmekunu ina ^{URU}halšū^{MES}-kunu ahtīti ina ŠU^{II}-ia bāsi ^{LÚ}emūqīšū iššū puhru ina ^{URU}harda EN.NUN inaššar annīu tēnšunu

'Concerning the news of the Urarṭean (king), (my/his) messenger (has co)me (to me). The provincial-governor in my charge? (whom) I sent has come back. According to what the king, my lord, wrote to me, he spoke to him (the Urarṭean king) thus: "Why, while we are in friendly relationship with you, have you taken our fortress?

What would I do if I have transgressed your border or your fortresses, hold myself responsible?". Soon his forces are gathered with him in Harda. The garrison is keeping watch. This is their report.' (211)

If the restoration of 1.8 is correct, then this provincial-governor is probably serving under Nashur-bel. It is probable that he is concerned as a local 'vassal' provincial-governor of Assyria rather than as an Assyrian appointee, because it is unlikely that Nashur-bel, who is known as the provincial-governor of Amedi (^{LÚ}GAR.KUR ^{URU}amēdi) (212), would have authority to dispatch an official of equal rank (i.e. *bēl-pāhete*) on such a task. Only the king himself would do so (213). Non-Assyrian and hostile provincial-governors may be found in other reports from Nashur-bel to Sargon concerning the same

area (i.e. Urarṭu): 'ina UGU tēme ša ^{KUR}TILLĀ-ya ^{LÚ}dayāli asšapar etamru kī annie iqtībīni mā ^{LÚ}EN.NAM ša pūtūnni ^{LÚ}EN.NAM 2-u iššū ina ^{URU}harda pūt ^{LÚ}SUKKAL EN.NUN inaššur mā ^{URU}adu ^{URU}adi ^{URU}turušpa ulluāte sadra

'The provincial-governor is opposite us (and) the other/second provincial-governor with him in Harda is against the *sukkallu*. He is keeping the guard/watch. From town to town as far as Turušpa garrisons/hills (*ulluāte*) (214.) are arranged (in a row).' (215)

Nimrud letters also enlighten us on some of the *bēl-pāhete*'s military rôle at the northern frontier where the provincial-governors of Rašappa and Til-Barsipa are directly involved⁽²¹⁶⁾).

One difficulty in interpreting the texts naming a *bēl-pāhete* in relation to garrison duties is the possible range of interpretation of *EN.NUN* - *maš(š)artu* either as referring to a fort or a fortified city. Both were selected by the Assyrians for their rôle of watching over troubled border areas. References to them could indicate the precise frontier with non-Assyrian territories for which the *bēl-pāhete* was responsible. Two further instances may explain something of this duty. Ašipa tells the king how he has arranged a strong watch in the towns Bulua and Danibāni in Urartu: *LÚ_{3.u} ša LUGAL EN-ia ša illikanni mā EN.NUN-ka lu dannat EN.NUN dannat adanniš 3 LÚ¹ EN.NAM^{MEŠ} ina URU bulua 3 LÚ¹ EN¹ NAM^{MEŠ} ina URU danibani ina pūtūni TA ANŠE¹ ašappi puhru anīnu EN.NUN inī pūtūšunu inašar*. 'The third charioteer of the king, my lord, has come to me (with this): "Your garrison should be strong." The garrison indeed is strong. Three provincial-governors in Bulua, three provincial-governors in Danibani are assembled against us with pack-animals. We ourselves keep the watch opposite them.'⁽²¹⁷⁾ Because of the critical situation and special military duty, there were more than one *bēl-pāhete* located and mentioned in these places⁽²¹⁸⁾, otherwise it is unlikely that several would be employed together in such fortresses to carry out normal duties.

A second letter, of which the author's name is broken, may confirm that some *bēl-pāhetes* were under royal orders to arrange special duties for garrisons on their frontier: *ina UGU EN.NUN¹ šunu ki emurūni enišūni mētūni assa-par aptataršunu LÚ¹ EN.NAM URU lahiri ū LÚ¹ EN.NAM URU 4-ha issīkunu la (ta) aplah*. - 'Concerning their watch, when I saw that they were coming weak and deficient I sent (word) and relieved them. The provincial-governor of Lahiru and the provincial-governor of Arrapha are with you (so) do not be afraid.'⁽²¹⁹⁾

To sum up, the *bēl-pāhetes* concerned in Urarṭu are mainly local provincial-governors, whether acting against or pro-Assyria. Most of their names are not Assyrian. Some were hostile, especially those on the Urarṭu frontier. It may be argued that Sargon kept them in their provinces, presumably on condition of loyal acceptance of his sovereignty and with the requirement to come to his aid whenever he needed them. If they failed to do so or were openly against him, he had to take action as he did in his eighth campaign. It is very likely that the local governors involved in these troubles became vassal-governors in order to keep their seats and also to avoid further Assyrian campaigns against them despite their own in-built hostility. From the Assyrian point of view it was acceptable to use this method of control because in such mountainous or troubled regions it was very difficult to use more direct means of Assyrian control which would only have exhausted the Assyrian army in the maintenance of law and order, when they were needed to punish blatant trouble makers elsewhere.

Similar military involvement by the *bēl-pāhete* in Babylonia⁽²²⁰⁾ is reflected in two letters from Nabu-uṣabši, governor of Uruk⁽²²¹⁾ to Ashurbanipal during the civil war between Šamaš-šum-ukin and Ashurbanipal:

šiprēti ša I.^d XXXtabni-URU ana pāni[^I] DUMU.ŪŠ-a
 LU^U EN.NAM ù ana pānīya ittalkāni umma LU^U A.KIN ša
 I.^d GIŠ.NU₁₁.MU.GI.NA ana šukkuru ša KUR ù ana pānīya
 ittalka ù KUR gurasimma ina ŠU^{II}-ia ittabalkitu kī
 hanṭiš la taktaldainni anāku amātu ù KUR ang IGI?
 I.^d GIŠ.NU₁₁.MU.GI.NA tatārâ

'The messenger of Sin-tabni-uṣur has come to (Aplay)a, the provincial-governor, and to me (saying)-"The messenger of Šamaš-šumu-ukin has now come to cause hostilities in the land and against me. Moreover, the land of the Gurasimu has rebelled from my control. If you do not come here at once I will die and the land will go over to Šamaš-šumu-ukin".(222)

This report from Nabu-ušabši, governor of Uruk to Ashurbanipal concerns the people of Uruk who have been incited by Šamaš-šumu-ukin, his brother, against Assyria. Its importance lies in showing the collaboration between provincial-governors, here Aplaya and Nurea, on the northern border of Babylonia. While the concerted action is here primarily one of exchange of information, it also indicates specific action against trouble-makers

(lines 11-20). Aplaya, the provincial-governor of Arrapha, was also concerned with the rebellion of Šamaš-šumu-ukin and the king of Elam with whom he was allied against his brother. So Nabu-ušabši wrote:

umma ^IDUMU-UŠ-a [^{LÚ}EN.NAM ù ^IAMAR.UD.LUGAL.PAB DUMU
^Igabbie[ha]nṭiš ana UNU(G)^{KI} šūribi māti [t]alammina
itti ^I.dGIŠ.NA.MU.GI.NA la t[a]zazzu

ù ana DUMU.UŠ-a ^{LÚ}EN.NAM ù ana ^INIG.DU ^{LÚ}A.KIN-ya
altapra umma emuqa ša LUGAL TIN.TIR^{KI} ana muhhikunu
illakū ramānkunu ušra . - 'Now Aplaya, the provincial-governor and Marduk-šar-ušur, son of Gabbe have quickly entered into Uruk saying: "(You) shall surround the land (and) not side with Šamaš-šumu-ukin. Moreover I sent my messenger to Aplaya, the provincial-governor and to Kudurru saying: "Now the forces of the king of Babylon (i.e. Šamaš-šumu-ukin) are coming against you, protect yourselves." (223)

The writer, probably Nabu-ušabši, is warning the recipient of an impending attack by Šamaš-šumu-ukin and informing the addressee (possibly Ashurbanipal) that he is in communication with Aplaya as the provincial-governor concerned. The trouble with Babylon under Šamaš-šumu-ukin extended to other cities including Eridu and Ur whose citizens wrote to Ashurbanipal asking for military aid. (224) Moreover, this letter describes the failure of provincial-governors to come to the assistance of pro-Assyrian allies (the Gurasimmu) in Babylonia. The result was that they were in danger of siding with the enemy for their own protection.

aššu imurūma tēmu ša ^{KUR}aššur^{KI} la pānišunu
irīqu u mamma ^{LÚ}EN.NAM^{MES} ana kitiršunu la illikū
šU^{II} ana ^{LÚ}PAP ittannū

Responsibility for supplying the Assyrian army with rations is another activity of the *bēl-pāhete* closely allied with military activity especially in those provinces located along the main route taken in several Assyrian campaigns. ND 437⁽²²⁵⁾ and 2495⁽²²⁶⁾ relate to this distribution of rations to Assyrian troops.

The evidence presented here is sufficient to warrant the conclusion that in the first and second millennium in Assyria the *bēl-pāhete* undertook local responsibility on behalf of, and directly under, the king for local administration including public, and sometimes religious, affairs as well as participation in legal practices including land transactions and the maintenance of law and order, the collection of taxes, sometimes of military rations and supplies. When in border territories this official was necessarily involved in certain military duties.

Fig.4

MA *bēl-pāhete* associated with a place-name⁽²²⁷⁾

Name	place	date	sources
1. Adad-murabbi	Arzuhina	1178-1133	KAJ 212:4-7;189:2,
2 Aššur-bel-ilani Aššur ⁽²²⁸⁾		1243-1207	KAJ 103:5;106:4;133:5;
3 Aššur-kite-idi	Nāhur	1273-1244	KAJ 113:28,36;
4 Babu-ahu-iddina	Amasāki	1273-1244	VS 19:39; cf AfO XIX(1959/60) 34,36,38 and BiOr XXXVII(1980) 69-70, Ep. 62
5 Erib-Marduk	Tal<mu> [✓] se	1243-1207	unpubl. Assur 6045 (AfO XIII,117:23); cf Ep 118
6 Eru-apla-ušur ⁽²²⁹⁾	Halahhi	1178-1133	KAJ 191:2; cf Ep 134, 137
7 Ištār-ereš [✓]	Amasaki	1273-1244	unpubl. Assur 16308 I (AfO XIII,118; MAOG VII,3; cf Ep. 180
8 Kidin-Sin	Šuduhi [✓]	1273-1244	KAJ 109:1,18; cf KAJ 275:2-3 and stele 132. cf Ep. 82
9 Melisah	Nahur	1273-1244	KAJ 109:8,16.
10 Mušallim-Šamaš Ta'idi		1273-1244	KAJ 121:3,30,32. cf Ep 115; UHTNM 91
11 Ninurtiya	(A-hu [?] -ur [?] -ra [?])	1178-1133	KAJ 192:2, cf KAJ 284:3 (Assur 6096. AfO X, 34, No. 53)
12 Puššaya	Arzuhina	1178-1133	KAJ 198:4, cf Ep. 138
13 Sin-balassu-eriš [✓]	Tai'di	1178-1133	KAJ 187:4, Cf Ep. 137 UHTNM 92
14 Ušur-bel-šarri ⁽²³⁰⁾	—	1278-1212	KAJ 267:16
15 Ušur-namkuš ⁽²³¹⁾ šarri	Kar.T.N.	1243-1207	KAH II 56 cf ITN 35:3
16 [x]bi	Aššur		KAV 217:9, see Ep. 110

Fig.5 MB and Post-Kassite *bēl-pāhete* associated with place-names

Name	Place	Date	Sources
1 Bel-ana-kala-bāni	māt tamtim		MDP X,93 VIII,PKB 304
2 Ea-kudurri-ibni	mātāti	1088	BBst 8:ii,3-4 cf III R 43:ii,4
3 Enlil-nadin-apli		887-855	BBst 29:ii,17-18
4 Enlil-sum-iddina		1082	<u>Sumer</u> XXXII (1976)94
5 Eriba-Marduk		887-855	CT X 3,29(KB IV, 94)
6 Kidin-Marduk	Irrea		MDP VI 44:i,9-10 cf BBst 8:Top 7
7 Marduk-balassu-iqbi		856	BBst 36:vi,24-26, PKB 201-2, n.1177;cf VR, 61, VI 26
8 Marduk-šum-lišir	Bit-Belāni (233)	1318	<u>Iraq</u> Suppl.1944, Pl XVIII r.col. PKB 304
9 Marduk-zakir-šumi	[x.x.x]	1173-1161	BBst 5:i,27, PKB 303; 192 n.1177
10 Mušallim-Marduk		955	BBst 9:ivb,4-5
11 Nabū-ra'im-zeri		1100	BBst 25:r.34 cf IR 66:ii,14
12 Nabu-šum-ukin II		732	ABC 72 1:16-18; PKB 303
13 Nabu-tabni-bulluṭ		955	BBst 9,Top 20-21
14 Riba-Marduk		875	BBst 28:r.24
15 Saggilu		853	<u>RA</u> XVI(1919)126, iv 22,130
16 Samidu	Bit-Ada	1088	BBst 8:ii,21-23; cf ibid iii,9 Top 12 cf IIIR 43:iii,9
17 Takil-ana-ilišu	Bit (XX)	1224-1219	BBst 3:ii,1

Name	Place	Date	Sources
18 Uballit ^{su} -Gula		1124-1103	BBst 6:ii, 19 cf VR 56:ii, 19
19 Rimut-Gula			Ir.Ant.II (1962)162 n.25
20 [xx] Marduk	Bit-Sin-Semi		Hincke-Kudurru 154:v, 15, PKB 303
21 —	Bit-Piri'-Amurru		BE I/II 149: ii 2, PKB 303-4

Fig.6

NA *bēl-pāhete* classified as *limmu*

PN	GN	date	sources
1. Aqar-apla ⁽²³⁴⁾	<i>Babili</i>	678-653	BM 118973, RA LXXVI (1982) r 44
2. Aššur-bani ⁽²³⁵⁾	<i>URU kalhu</i>	713	ADD 248:L.H.E.1=ARU 455;33; KAR viii 252
3. Aššur-mat-taqqin ^{✓✓}	<i>URU [Bummu]</i>	622-612	ADD 361 L.H.E 2=ARU 377:33 cf ADD 307:L.H.E.1=ARU 37:43; ADD 621 r 11=ARU 118:26; ADD 23 : B.E.2=ARU 266:8
4. Atar-ili	<i>KUR lahiri</i>	673	ADD 8:7=ARU 257:7; cf ADD 118: r 6, III R1 vi 8, ADD 53:5=ARU 258:5
5. Bēl-emuranni	<i>URU gargamiš</i>	691	Senn.131 n 1(IR 42 cf III R 1 v 33) ADD 320: r E 1=ARU 529:16; ADD 1098:iii 1; ADD 9:r 6=ARU 249:15
6. Belšunu	<i>URU hindanu</i>	648?	ABL 671 r 5, ADD 943 viii 4-5; III R 51,5:33
7. Ga/ihilu	<i>URU hatarikka</i>	689	III R 1 v:35, Senn. 131 vi 84. cf ADD 1098 iii 3
8. Hananu	<i>URU til-barsip</i>	701	KAR III:r 9
9.i.Kanunaya		671	ADD 257:vi E3 = ARU 66:37; ADD 627 r 12=ARU 99:24, ADD 60 r 8=ARU 153:20; ADD 121 r 4=ARU 226:12; ADD 41 8=ARU 294:7
9.ii		670 ²³⁶⁾	ADD 499 r 8=ARU 563 :3
9.iii. "	<i>Bīt-ešši</i>	666	ADD 331:r 8-9=ARU 356 :23; ADD 338 L.H.E 2=ARU 355:15-16 cf ADD 258 B.E 3=ARU 65:18; ADD 420: r.8-9=ARU 100;24-25; ADD 421 B.E.2=ARU 100A:26; ADD 192+529+801=ARU 65A:40

Fig. 6 continued

PN	GN	date	sources
10. Manzarne	^{KUR} <i>kullania</i>	684	ADD 230:r. 17-18 =ARU 60:31
11. Mušallim-Aššur	^{KUR} <i>dur-sin-ahhe^{MES}-ēriba-ešši</i>	624	Assur 11682 ⁹ (Afo XVII, 1954/6, 103)
12. Nabu-šar-ahhešu	^{KUR} <i>samerina</i>	646	Abp II 138
13. Sagabbu	<i>harran</i>	651	PRT 110
14.i. Sin-šar-ušur	<i>hindanu</i>	692/3	ADD 207 E 1-2=ARU 509:39 cf 325 L.H. E 1=ARU 341:48, <u>Afo</u> XVI 105
14.ii. //	<i>uruk</i>		ADD 1252 (AJSL XLII p267)=ENALD. 19:r. 24-25 cf <u>Afo</u> XVII, 105:160
15. [✓] Samas- [✓] danninanni	<i>Babili</i>	636	Abp. II 90 n.z. (<u>Afo</u> XVII, 106:182(d)
16. [✓] Sarru-nuri (237)	^{KUR} <i>barhalzu</i>	674	ADD 126:r.2=ARU 638:1 ADD 117:r.4=ARU 225 ADD 300:r.11=ARU 545: 31; ;ADD 383: r.E. 1=ARU 33:36 cf ADD 853:ii,1

Fig.7
Officials associated with NA *bēl-pāhetes* (238);

Official title	Official's name	<i>bēl-pāhete</i>	GN	date	sources
LÚ A.BA	kabti	X	URU kalhi	709	FNALD 2:43(TcL 9 58= ARU 113
	Marduk-erēs	X	URU arrapha		ABL 415:4-5
	Nabu-Šum-iddin	X	URU dūr-šarru-ukin	667	ADD 27:3-4=ARU 261
LÚ A.BASANU	X	X	URU barhalzi		ABL 532:9-10
LÚ A.SIG	Dudua	X	URU kalhi	678?	ADD 225:r6=ARU 499:8-9
	Ilu-mukin	X		656?	ADD 48:r 5-6=ARU 298:14-15
	"	X		656?	ADD 49:r 3-4=ARU 297:11-12
	X	X	URU diri		ABL 140:r:1
LÚ DUMU.Šipri	X	X	URU uasi	721-705?	ABL 112:14-16 cf JRAS XX(1913); 608-112; cf Iraq XXV(1963)145r
LÚ ERIN ^{MEŠ}	X	X	URU arrapha		ABL 89:r 10
(239)	X	X	URU talmusu		ABL 102:10-12, cf RA LX(1966)5:
LÚ A.BA	kuti	X			CT 53,46=ABL 633+unp.K11448= AfQ XXVII(1980)142-146
LÚ ASGAB	Ubre-ištar	X	URU kalhi	709	FNALD 2:56(TcL 9,58)=ARU 113
LÚ GAL.nikāssi	Niriau	X			ibid CT 53,48:4
LÚ GAR.URU ^{MEŠ} Martu		X	KUR barhalzi	?	ADD 447:1=ARU 61 cf p
Ša MI<É.GAL>					
LÚ NI.GAB	Silim-Adad	X	URU kalhi	714	ADD 248:r 13=ARU 455:29-30
LÚ SANGA	Kilanni	X			ibid CT 53,46:3
LÚ []	Tuti	X			ibid CT 53,46:3

Officials associated with bēl-pāhetes continued

Official title	Official's name	bēl-pāhete	GN	date	sources
LÚ ₁	Qurdi	X			ibid CT 53,46:3
LÚ ₁	Palhiau	X			ibid CT 53,46:4
LÚ ₁ IR	Mardi	X	KUR barhalzi	?	ADD 447 :2=ARU 625
	URU Niramaya	X	KUR simē	?	ADD 806:1-2
	Sin-šar-ušur		URU NINA ^{ki}		ADD 814:12-13, cf 853:5,
			kišir ša Sin-ahhe ^{MEŠ}		854:9
			-eriba		
	Šépa ^{II} -Ištar	X	URU halšu	709	FNALD 2:53(TcL 9,58)=ARU 113
	f Zazi	X			ibid CT 53,48:
	I]	X			ABL 1227:8
LÚ ₁ GAL.E	Sallāya	X	URU arrapha		ABL 415:3
LÚ ₁ GAR.nu.te	X		URU mušašir		ABL 380:5-6
LÚ ₁ GAL.KAL.KA ^{MEŠ}	X	"	"		ABL 380: 5-6
LÚ ₁ GAL.kallapi	Dađi	X			ND 218=GPA 98:8-9
LÚ ₁ mutir-teme	Mušallim-Ninurta	X	URU kalhi	718	ND 209=GPA 18:r.19-20
LÚ ₁ SAG	Aššur-đur-ušur	Bēl-đan	"		ND 241=GPA 99:1-3
LÚ ₁ UŠ-kibsi	Ahu-lamašši	X	URU	rimusi	ND 432=GPA 111:1-5
LÚ ₁ Zammari	Urartāya	X			ND 218=GPA 98:r 10-11

Fig.7 continued

LÚ [✓] mukil-apate ^{MEŠ}	Zabīnu	Nergal-ilaya	URU Lahīru	670	ADD 625:5=ARU116
LÚ [✓] sanû	Sin-šar-ušur	"	"	"	ADD 625;3=ARU116
LÚ [✓] tšalšû	x	x	Kalhu		FNALD 2,:55,TcL 9=ARU 113
LÚ [✓] SAG	Murasu	Nergal-ilaya	Lahīru	670	ADD 625:4=ARU116
	Aššur-dur-bel-dan ušur		Kalhu		ND 241:GPA,99:13=TCAE 72

Fig.8 NA *bēl-pāhete* associated with or without GN

- ** Occurs as *limmu* - see Fig.6
 + " in Tax-collections, see Fig.3
 * " as *šakin-māti* see Fig.9
 X Non-Assyrian official

PN	GN	date	sources
1. Abda' +	Rašappa	Abp.	ADD 764:3-4, 853:i, 9-10=854:12
2. Adkalani +		?	
3. Ahe-eriba +	Nayalani	?	
4. Ahe-ilaya *	Ninua	Abp.	
5. Ahe-imme +	Hindan	Abp.	ADD 854:16; ABL 462:r.26-27
6. A/IH.NI.AD.KA? ±		?	
7. Analuqunū ^X	Mušašir		ABL 381:10
8. Andaria ^X	Lubdi	664/3	CT XXXV, 49:iii, 21; 27 (Abp. II 104; iv, 6, 13)
9. Aplaya	Arrapha	Abp.	ABL 266:18; 754:11, 19; 998:14; 1106:11, r.8 1124:6.
10. Aqar-apla**	Babili	Abp.	
11. Arbaya	-	?	ADD 857:ii, 50
12. Aššur-alik- pani	Barhalza	Abp.	ADD 853:i, 12 = 854:13, ABL 783-788
13. Aššur-bani *	Kalhu	713	
14. Aššur-bel- šakin	-		ABL 1067:r.1 cf 699:3
15. Aššur-dur- uṣur *	Barhalza	651	
16. Aššur-mat- taqqin **	Bummu/ Abumme	624	
17. Aššur-šarru- uṣur	Que	710?	K 1008(unpubl.) See Iraq XXXV, 27n.12
	"	710	ND 2759:1(NL 39) Iraq XX, 182; XXXV, 22, 27
18. Aššur-šezi- bani	-	?	ABL 189:8
19. Atar-ilu ** *	Lahiru	673	
20. A/Itaraya	-	Abp.	ADD 853:i, 3 = 854:14
21. Azi-ilu?	-	?	ADD 904:iv, 3
22. Bel-apla- iddina	-	665	ADD 237:r.5 = ARU 71
23. Bel-dan(an) *	Kalhu	734	ADD 90:L.H.E.1-2=ARU 128; ADD 415:r.12= ARU 437
23.2 Bel-dan(an) +	Nayalani	?	
24. iBel-duri	ša mār šarrī	658	ADD 152:4, 7 = ARU 653

Fig.8 continued

PN	GN	date	sources
24.ii.Bel-duri	-	651	ADD 333:1 = ARU 339
25. Bel-emuranni	*Gargamiš [✓]	691	
26. Bel-iddina	Kulmera	Abp.	ADD 853:i,9
27. Bel-našir	Kalhu	?	ADD 1104:3-4
28. Bel [✓] sunu ^{***} *	Hindan	648	Abp.II 136:i,1-2,ABL 460:r.3,527:r.25 844:1;963:4;1074:9
29. Bel-usati ⁺	Sama'al	?	
30. Ga/ihlu ^{***} *	Hatarikka	689	
31. Giri-milki	Til-turi	Sg.II	ABL 131:7,12,17,r,7-10
32. Hananu ^{***} *	Til-Barsip	701	
33.			
34. Ilu-taklak	Parsua(š [✓])	?	ADD 992:2-3
35. Kanunaya ^{***} *	Bit-ešši	666	
36. Kišir-Aššur	Dur-šarru-kin	Sg.II	ABL 989:2 = CT LIII,20:9-10;190:2; 191:2 cf 485:4;578:r.7;976:2
37. La'ili-ilu ⁺	Amedi	?	
38.Man(nu)zarne ^{***} *	Kullania	684	
39. Marduk-eriba	Bumu	Abp.	ADD 853:i,8.
40. Marduk-remanni	Kalhu	Sg.II	ND 433 = GPA 108:6-7, RLA V 321
41. Mesu	Arba'il	Abp.	ADD 853:i,7 = 854 11
42. Milkiya	Talmusi	681	ADD 59:1 = ARU 123
43. Mušallim-Aššur ^{***} *	Dur-sin-ahhe-eriba	642	
44. Mušallim-Ninurta	?	?	ADD 426 B.E.1=ARU89
45. Mušezib-Samaš [✓]	BAD.DU.US.MA	?	H.Pognon, Inscription Semitique de la Syrie, de la Mesopotamie et de la region de Mossol.I.II.(Paris 1907-8)106,59:3 cf Provinz 22;RLA I, 106
46. Nabu-kušur-(r)anni ^{***} *	Arzuhina		
47. Nabu-le'u	Halšu	Sg.II	ABL 197:r.5,16
48. Nabu-nadin-ahe	Kaš-šulman-ašared(Til-Barsip)	?	Iraq XXIX,66
49. Nabu-šar-ahhešu [✓] ^{***} *	Samaria	646	
50. Nabu-šarru-ušur	Ninua	Abp.	ADD 853:i,5 = 854 9 cf 814:13
51. Nergal-ilaya	Lahiru	670	ADD 625:1 = ARU 116
52. Nergal-šallim		?	ADD 873:7

Fig.8 continued

PN	GN	date	sources
53.1. Nerga- [✓] sarru- u [✓] sur	?	Abp.	ADD 854 :5
53.2. "		648	PRT 124
54. Niluaya-han ⁺ (x)			
55. Nurea	(Ma) zame(x)	Abp.	APL 754:12 cf 790:5
56. Qaqqadanu ^X ?!	Ukkaya	Sg. II	ABL 444:6,11 see n.202(II)
57. Sagabu ^{** *}	Harran	651	
58. Sakuata ^X	Qaniun	Sg. II	ABL 444:8
59. Sibia ^X	Alzi	Sg. II	ABL 444:10
60.i. Sin- [✓] sarru- u [✓] sur ^{**}	Hindan	639	
ii. dt. ^{**}	Uruk	639	
61. Setinu ^X	(XX)TE.NI	Sg. II	ABL 444:6; 380:6
62. Si'rapa ^X	Barhalza	Asarh.?	ABL 916:r.1
63. Suali ⁺	-	?	
64. Sulaya	-	Abp.	ADD 853:ii,3
65. Šil-A [✓] ssur	-	?	ADD 246:r.2 = ARU 82
66. Šamaš- danninanni*	Babili	636	
67. Šarru-duri*	Kalhu	?	
68. Šarru-nuri*	Barhalza	674	
69. Šulmu-bel- lamu	mār šarri		ADD 960:ii,14
70. Šumma-A [✓] ssur	-		ADD 448:r.8 = ARU 443
71. Tunnaun ^X	Kar-Sipar?	Sg. II	ABL 381:11
72. Turusu ^X	-		ADD 873:5
73. Tutu ^X	Amiraliu	Sg. II	ABL 444:10

Fig.8* unnamed NA *bēl-pāhete* associated with GN

(marks see under Fig.8)

<i>bēl-pāhete</i>	GN	date	sources
1. "	Abilakka	Tp.III	Tp.III.II 25:5-8, Tp.III.L78
2. "	Amedi		ADD 1196:r.5
3. "	Arba'il		ADD 506:E.2 = ARU 612; ADD 587:r.3 = ARU 583; ABL 179:7; 339:r.5; ; ND 2640 (<u>Iraq</u> XXIII,40; CT LIII,108:7;333:4,r.5;
		Asarh	ABL 43:21 = LAS 309
4. "	Arpadda	?	ADD 471:6,14 = ARU 167
"	"	Asarh.	ABL 43:16 = LAS 309
"	"	742-740	PEQ CV,161-163, ANET 282, CAH III/II 4
5. "	Arrapha		ABL 89:10,r.10; 151:11; 311:6,r.9; 415:9-11;486:7,r.4,9; 754:11,19; 1059: 10-11;1108:r.6; ND 2717 (NL 2), <u>Iraq</u> XVII,26-29; ND 2782, <u>Iraq</u> XXIII,51; ADD509=ARU612
		Senn.	Senn.27:11,2-7
6. "	Arzuhina		ADD 1104:6, ND 413 = GPA 196:1,4,9 = TCAE 368; ND 2679, <u>Iraq</u> XXIII,43; FNALD 20:1,6(<u>Iraq</u> XXV,96)
		Asarh.	ABL 43:20 = LAS 309
7. "	Assur-iqīša (Ullubu)	Tp.III	Tp.III.II 32:28-29, Tp.III.I,46 cf II,31:12-14, I 52:43-45
8. "	Asduddu	711	Lie.Sg.II,40:257-262 cf Sg.II.II.17: 2-13 + 30:1-2; Sg.II.I 36:215-227
9. "	Balaṭ(u)		ADD 960:i,8
10. "	Barhalza	Tp.III	Tp.III.II,2:4; Tp.III.I,2:8-9 cf II 32:6-7, I 42; II 34-35:9-11, I 56; II 35:10-11, I 56
	"	Asarh.	ABL 43:13 = LAS 309, ABL 421;13; ADD 447:3-4 = ARU 61
11. "	Birtu	Asarh.	ABL 43:20 = LAS 309
12. "	Bit-kari		AGS 30:r.4
13. "	Bit-Nayalani		ABL 220:9
14. "	Buluni		ABL 705:r.16
15. "	Danibani		ABL 506:12
16. "	Deri		ABL 140:7,r.6
17. "	Dimasqa		ABL 849:r.5-6 See <u>Iraq</u> XVI,11;
18. "	Dīqukina	Asarh.	ABL 43:18 = LAS 309
19. "			
20. "	Dur-Nabu	Sg.II	Lie.Sg.II 44-46:282-284 cf Sg.II.II,

Fig.8* continued

<i>bel-pāhete</i>	GN	date	sources
			30:13 + 31:1-2 + 42:1-7 + 28:1-9, Sg.II.I 38-44; 228-263; II 31:6-11 + 42:7-12 + 28:2-7: I, 42:253-258
21. "	Dur-Šarrukin [✓]	667	ADD 27:4 = ARU 261
		?	ADD 372:r.4 = ARU 389; ABL 339:7; 558:r.5,9
22. "	Gal'aza (Bit-Humri)	Tp.III	Tp.III.II 25:5-8, Tp.III.I, 78
23. "	omitted		
24. "	Gargamiš ^{✓+}		
25. "	Gurgume	712	Sg.II.II, 27:1-12 + 17:1-2, Sg.II.I 34-36:209-214; II, 70:88-89, I, 114
26. "	Guzana	?	ND 2800 (NL 95), <u>Iraq</u> XXVIII, 191
		Asarh.	ABL 43:21 = LAS 309; CT LIII, 47:7-8
27. "	Halšu ⁺		ADD 1141:53 = ARU 113
28. "	Halzi-adbar		TCL 9, 68:9-10
		Asarh.	ABL 43:19 = LAS 309
29. "	Hamath	Tp.III	Tp.III 21:4-12, Tp.III, I, 20-22:125-133
30. "	Harhar	Senn.	Senn.29:ii, 32 see also under Kar-sarru- kin
31. "	Harran ** *		CT LIII:92
32. "	Haurina ⁺		
33. "	Omitted:		
34. "	Isana	Asarh.	ABL 43:15 = LAS 309
35. "	Kalhu	713	ADD 248:r.14 = ARU 455, ADD 1141:55 = ARU 113; ABL 71:12-13: 486:4-5, r.11, 16; 547:r.8; 626:r.3-4, CT LIII, 108, r, 3
		Sg.II	TCL 9 ¹⁶⁷ :r.21 ; ND 433 = GPA 108:r.7
36. "	Kar-Aššur [✓] (Til-kamri)	745	Tp.III.II 2:11, Tp.III, I, 2:8-9; cf. II 32:6-7, I 42: II 34-35:9-11; I 56
37. "	Kar-Aššur-ah- iddina	Asarh.	Asarh.48:ii, 80-82
38. "	Kar-Ninurta [✓] (Kešism)	Sg.II	Sg.II.II, 6:2-5; 35:1-2, Sg.II.I 14:67- 70, II 67:59-60, I 108, Lie, Sg.II, 16:95
39. "	Kar-sin-ahhe-eriba (Elenziaš)	Senn.	Senn.29:ii, 29; 59:32; 68:15-16
40. "	Kar-Šarrukin [✓] (Harhar)	Sg.II	Lie, Sg.II, 16:96-100, Sg.II.II, 68:61-64, Sg.II.I, 108; ND 2655 (NL 42) <u>Iraq</u> XX, 191-193
41. "	Kar. [xxx]		FNALD 13:18
42. "	Kašpuna	Tp.III 734	Tp.III.II 25:5-8; Tp. III, I, 78 Kašpuna added to the provinz of Šimirra in this year

Fig.8* continued

<i>kel-pahete</i>	GN	date	sources
43. "	Kilizi(u) ⁺	Asarh.	ABL 43:14 = LAS 309; ND 2640:34, <u>Iraq</u> XXIII,40; CT LIII,333:r.3
44. "	Kirruri ⁺		
45. "	Kullania	Tp.III	Tp.III.II,14:11-12; Tp.III.I,100-101
		Asarh.	ABL 43:15 = LAS 309; <u>WO</u> VII,49-54; <u>Iraq</u> XVII,147
46. "	Kurba'il ⁺		
47. "	Lahiru	?	ADD 275:r.8-9 = ARU 174; ABL 543:r.5; 558:r.4,7,1108:r.5; 1244:9
48. "	Madaya		ABL 208:8
49. "	Mazamua	Tp.III	Tp.III.II 2:11, Tp.III.I,2:8-9 cf II 32:6-7, I,42; II 35:10-11; I,56; ADD 1020:7
50. "	Meliddu	Sg.II	Sg.II.II 26:12 + 72:112-116; Sg.II.I 64-66:383-399
51. "	Mus(?)		ADD 960:ii,10
52. "	Omitted		
53. "	Nikur	Tp.III	Tp.III.II 9:5-6; Tp.III.I,8:36-37
54. "	Ninua		ABL 339:r.6; 973:6; 1038: 6; ND 2640:27; <u>Iraq</u> XXIII,40; CT LIII,112:II 151:11
55. "	Tamnunna	Asarh.	ABL 43:22 = LAS 309
56. "	Qarnia ⁺		
57. "	Que		CT LIII,44:3
58. "	Rasappa ⁺	Asarh.	ABL 43:17 = LAS 309
59. "	"		ND 2608 (NL 46) <u>Iraq</u> XX,199
59. "	Talmusi	Asarh.	ABL 43:23 = LAS 309; ABL 102:10, ND 432 = GPA 111:4-5; ADB 15:i,18
60. "	Ramat ⁺		
61. "	Samarina		ADD 252:8 = ARU 633
62. "	Si'me		ADD 806:2,904:i,3
63. "	ŠAB.PAP.ME		ADD 832:r.1
64. "	Šimir(ra)	738	Tp.III.II 15:16, Tp.III.I 24:146; ZDPV XC,43; <u>AOF</u> II,3-4, <u>Iraq</u> XVII, 152, XXV,70
65. "	✓Šahuppa	Asarh.	ABL 43:22 = LAS 309, see <u>Afo</u> XXIV,72
66. "	✓Samaš-našir		ABL 32:11-12
67. "	✓Šattera		ABL 646:13
68. "	Tabal	Sg.II	Sg.II.II 38:2-14, 14:1-9, Sg.II.I 28-30:170-178; Lie Sg.II 32-34:

Fig.8* continued

<i>bēl-pāhete</i>	GN	date	sources
			:200-204
69. "	Omitted		
70.	Til-Barsip		CT LIII,834:10,r.6
71.	(Kar-šulmanu-ašard) Omitted		ND 2608 (NL 46) <u>IraqXX</u> ,199; ND 2684:r.5, <u>Iraq XXIII</u> ,43
72.	Til-garimme	Sg.II	Sg.II.II 15:5-7; Sg.II.I 32:187-189; II,112:69,82; <u>Iraq XXXV</u> ,31; cf Lie, Sg.II 34:210-213
73.	Tille	Asarh.	ABL 43:15 = LAS 309, 1379 :r.1; CT LIII,47:7-8
74.	Til-turi		ABL 131:8
75.	Tušan ⁺		
76.	Uasi ^X	Sg.II	ABL 409:9,444:5,14; 646:10, 1079:8, 1083:7
77.	Unqi(Kullani)	Tp.III	Tp.III.II 14:11-12, Tp.III.I,16-18: 100-101
78.	(XXX)TE.NI ^X		ABL 444:6

The šakin-māti

Another term, which was common throughout the NA period, and indeed the MA period (from which it may have been taken over), is *šakin-māti* (GAR.KUR). It was similarly used to denote the office and function of the provincial-governor (*bēl-pāhete*) and it is the subject of the remainder of this chapter.

1. The reading of šakin-māti (GAR.KUR)

LÚ²⁴⁰ GAR.KUR is to be read *amēl šakin-māti* if it is written without any qualifying GN and if it is accompanied by a GN it should be read *šakin-māt +GN* ⁽²⁴¹⁾. The plural form is *šakin-mātāti* ⁽²⁴²⁾. *šakin* derives here from the verbal adjective of *šakānu* (i.e. *šaknu*) ⁽²⁴³⁾. The title *šakin-māti* could be written syllabically, as in the OA and MA periods as well as later, and the element KUR was followed by the phonetic complement *-ti*, i.e. *ša-ki-in KUR-ti* ⁽²⁴⁴⁾; *ša-ki-in KU [R-ti]* ⁽²⁴⁵⁾ with the variant in duplicate texts being written *ša-ki-in KUR URU ka-ne-eš* ⁽²⁴⁶⁾, LÚ *ša-kin KUR-ti* ⁽²⁴⁷⁾, LÚ *ša-kin KUR-ti-šu-nu* ⁽²⁴⁸⁾, and PN *GAR -ma-ti* ⁽²⁴⁹⁾. The other variations of syllabic spellings are: *ša-kin KUR* ⁽²⁵⁰⁾, *ša-kin KUR* ⁽²⁵¹⁾. A further source for this form is to be found in a MA contract from Aššur which reads *ša-kin KUR* ⁽²⁵²⁾. This leaves no doubt that the reading of GAR.KUR has to be *šakin-māti*.

2. Early references

In Assyria this term was used to describe a provincial governor and was normally associated with a specific geographical designation ⁽²⁵³⁾. The term *šakin* was written syllabically in various ways as shown above. The MA sources indicate two important factors: Firstly, there are two instances where the same person holds both the office of *šakin-māti* and *bēl-pāhete* at the same place:

(i) Aššur-bel-ilani *šakin-māt Aššur* ⁽²⁵⁴⁾ is the *bēl-pāhete* ⁽²⁵⁵⁾ of that city. According to Saporetta Stela 88 and KAJ

103;106;133 are dated to the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I⁽²⁵⁶⁾.
 (ii) Eru-apla-ušur *šakin-māt* Halahhi⁽²⁵⁷⁾ is the *bēl-pāhete* of Halahhi⁽²⁵⁸⁾. KAJ 191 describes a *nāmurtu* given to Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur, who according to Saporetti ruled for one year⁽²⁵⁹⁾. The approximate date for Stela 128 is either this king's reign (1133/2BC) or a little earlier in the reign of Aššur-dan (1178-1133 BC). All examined MA references to *šakin-māti* show that this title was only used in *limmu*-dates, i.e. in documents and stelae of Aššur. The designation *bēl-pāhete* however, is not found in any stelae but occurs mainly in administrative texts.

Secondly, the Aššur stelae of the MA period indicate that a *šakin-māti* could inherit his father's office when he was employed in the same province (or occasionally even elsewhere). Officials thus appointed include:

- (i) Aššur-muṭibbe, son of Reš-Aššur (Fig.10:4,14)
- (ii) Eru-apla-ušur, son of Samedu (Fig.10;9;13)
- (iii) Urad-kube, son of Aššur-bel-ilani, grandson of Ittabši-den-Aššur (Fig.10:1;10;16).

In arguing that the title of *šakin-māti* in the MA period was limited to the *limmu*-office and the stelae of Aššur, it must be pointed out that the extant available sources do not throw much light on the provincial administration of that time.

In contemporary Babylonia Nebuchadnezzar I assigned on a Kudurru the labour force of certain villages to the *šakin-māti* of Namar and another official:⁽²⁶⁰⁾

In other Kudurrus the *šakin-māti* is listed together with the *bēl-pāhete* and other officials in the anti-litigation formulae⁽²⁶¹⁾. This could be considered as further evidence that there were indeed two terms for MB provincial governors. Acting as a witness in Kudurru-transactions the *šakin-māti* is listed in varying order according to the relation to other officials⁽²⁶²⁾. This may mean that he was considered to be on a comparable level with provincial government officials. The office of *šakin-māti* is also known from the second dynasty of Isin(1158-1027 BC)⁽²⁶³⁾. Brinkman⁽²⁶⁴⁾ rightly suggested that during the middle

of the ninth century the title *GAR.KUR* is to be read syllabically *ša-kín* (*šaknu*) in comparison to the abstract cases in *ša-kín-ú-ti*⁽²⁶⁵⁾ and *ša-ak-nu-ti*⁽²⁶⁶⁾. Furthermore Brinkman pointed out that the holder of the office of *šakin-māti* was normally appointed by royal command and could be transferred from one province to another at the king's will⁽²⁶⁷⁾, as in the case of Baba-šuma-iddina who served as *šakin-māti* at Bit-sin-še⁽²⁶⁸⁾ and then held the same office at Babylon during the reign of Nebuchadrezzar I⁽²⁶⁹⁾. He also suggested that the title had by then lost some of its political significance in most areas, although it did not die out completely⁽²⁷⁰⁾.

Thus far it can be shown that although there are no direct references to the *šakin-māti* in the MB & Post-Kassite period, the most frequent mention of him occurs as a witness among other officials in Kudurrus and in the list of possible claimants to the property. There is no clear description of his actual function except for one instance the *šakin-māti* is associated with responsibility for land⁽²⁷¹⁾. l.19 of that text reads *erība-anu-rabû mār ahu-bānû LÚ GAR.KUR URU isin*, whereas in l.29 he himself is referred to as *LÚ GAR.KUR ša qaqqaršu*. The latter expression indicates that this land was within the jurisdiction of Eriba-anu-rabu and that he, as the *šakin-māti*, was prevented from making any claim to it.

The MB instances of *šakin-māti* (*GAR.KUR*) associated with GN are given in Fig.11. From this it will be apparent that two GN also appear elsewhere as provinces under a *bēl-pāhete*⁽²⁷²⁾.

3. *šakin-māti* in NA sources

The earliest extant NA reference to the *šakin-māti* is written syllabically in Assur text No.4439 (VAT4640) on an Adad-nērari II inscription dated by the *limmu* of Še'-Aššur 909 BC. *gabbī-ana-aššur ša-kín-KUR URU ŠA.URU Adad-aha-iddina ša muhhi-āli qipūtu ša kisirte*⁽²⁷³⁾. This shows that they were in charge of the province and of Aššur itself. A person called Adad-aha-iddina is the *limmu* of some twelve years later for the year 897 BC and described as the *šakin-māti* of Aššur⁽²⁷⁴⁾. They may very well be identical, in which case the official

got promoted to the high rank of *šakin-māti*.

Ideographically written, *šakin-māti* is also attested in eleven Aššur stelae dated 867-748 BC (see Fig. 13 p. 180f).

When we compare these *šakin-māti* on the Aššur stelae from the NA period with those of the preceding MA period it is significant that:

- (i) there is no mention of either the father or predecessor or their position,
- (ii) the title is always written logographically,
- (iii) these provincial governors, as in the MA period, govern a wide area, more than one city, whereas after 745BC one *šakin-māti* is normally associated with only one (or at the most two) precise geographical areas,
- (iv) there are no stelae of any *šakin-māti* after 745 BC. (This may be related to re-arrangement of the vast NA provinces and their administration by Tiglath-pileser III.),
- (v) some of these *šakin-māti* bear other additional titles.

The purpose of the ascribed second title of the *šakin-māti* is unclear. They are all of known higher ranks, e.g. *turtānu*, *rab-ekalli*, *nāgīru rabû*, *abarakku-rabû*. Maybe they were honorary titles given to these special *šakin-māti*. Support for this view may be found in the fact that the titles were listed without any further GN or PN other than the assignation *šakin-māti* itself, and that there are instances where some of the officials concerned already had a stele bearing his name and title (275):

4. His rôle in the NA provincial administration.

In addition to the evidence from the stelae the title *šakin-māti* also occurs in royal inscriptions from Tiglath-pileser III onwards. Significantly he led a military campaign on behalf of the king, similar to that of his colleague, the *bēl-pāhete* (see p. 125f), which also emphasizes his important position in the court hierarchy. For instance, Tiglath-pileser III sent the *šakin-māti* of Lullumu against Babylonia⁽²⁷⁶⁾, and that of Na'iri against the Hittites⁽²⁷⁷⁾, while Aššur-danninanni, the *šakin-māti* of Mazamua⁽²⁷⁸⁾, was sent against the Medes some time

between 733 and 728 BC⁽²⁷⁹⁾).

In 710 BC. Sargon's *šakin-māti* of Que attacked Mita of Muški causing him to send his ambassador to Sargon while the latter was involved in the subjugation of the Aramean and Chaldean tribes in south Babylonia⁽²⁸⁰⁾. Postgate assumes that Aššur-šarru-ušur of K.1008, described as the *bēl-pāhete* of Que, is the same person as the one in IM 64156⁽²⁸¹⁾ and that he is the same individual who was in charge of this military operation against Muški⁽²⁸²⁾. As shown above in p.125f, and confirmed here, it appears to have been commonplace for NA kings to send their provincial-governors and other high-ranking officials such as the *turtānu* and *rab-šāqī* on military campaigns, presumably (at such times) when the king's presence was impracticable.

The royal correspondence also confirms this responsibility; in addition, they show the *šakin-māti* in charge of levying troops within his province, probably for such campaigns. This is clearly stated in two letters concerning the province of Mazamua. In ABL 1292⁽²⁸³⁾ the writer's name is broken. But it is apparent that the writer is in communication with Šarru-emuranni, perhaps the former *šakin-māti* of Mazamua (Fig.13:117), asking him to call up troops from Durladini, Durbiliha, Larak and Ukayani (all in Babylonia). While in ABL 311⁽²⁸⁴⁾, Šarru-emuranni is himself the author explaining to Sargon the cause of the delay of the campaign to Parsuašand why he did not wait for the *bēl-pāhete* of Arrapha. This may also indicate that military campaigns could be led by two neighbouring provincial-governors, and that they were both acting according to the king's instructions. ND 2631⁽²⁸⁵⁾, written by Adad-issiya, probably governor of Arzuhina (Fig.14:3), to Sargon explaining that of the total of 1.430 soldiers under his command, 630 were Assyrians including the palace personnel and the scribes, but are mostly cavalry and chariot troops; on the other hand two groups non-Assyrian: 360 Gurraens and 440 Itu'aean. This important letter tells how the fighting troops under the command of Adad-issiya were constituted.⁽²⁸⁶⁾

A similar levy of troops was undertaken by Nashur-bel, *šakin-māti* of Amedi (Fig.12:9; 13:84), the writer of ABL 424:r 15-19⁽²⁸⁷⁾. Moreover, we have Qurdi-Aššur-lamur, probably a provincial-governor of the western province, who defends himself against the accusation that he had been late in delivering the troops required of him by Tiglath-pileser III. He goes on to say how he selected some troops locally, probably to take on military operations⁽²⁸⁸⁾. Exactly what situation justified the call-up of the reserved army (*ša kutal šāb šarri*) is unknown, however, they were indeed put to use as is seen in ABL 94:14, a letter from Tab-šil-ešarra, the *šakin-māti* of Aššur (Fig.12:16; 16; 13:131), to Sargon⁽²⁸⁹⁾.

The distribution of the army around the empire required the movement of troops from one province to another and probably they had to be put under the authority of another provincial-governor to whom the king had to assign them, or under the command of officers working for the king. The Nimrud texts speak of the *šakin-māti* of Kalhu and neighbouring places in the late ninth - eighth centuries. The main source for his administrative activity during this time are the letters.

In ND 436⁽²⁹⁰⁾, a letter to Šarru-duri⁽²⁹¹⁾, a *šakin-māti* who is the writer, complains about a fire caused by one of the subjects of Šarru-duri whose jurisdiction seems to have extended as far as the Suhi territory. Postgate argued that the land between Aššur and the Euphrates was under the authority of the provincial-governor of Kalhu, at least during this period. On the other hand, he suggested that the writer (i.e. the *šakin-māti*) was the provincial-governor of the Aššur-province⁽²⁹²⁾. The same ^{LÜ}GAR.KUR is also the sender of another letter to Šarru-duri concerning sisso-wood (^{GIŠ}MES.MÁ.KAN.NA)⁽²⁹³⁾ which he expected to receive and probably then deliver on to Šarru-duri of Kalhu. It is significant that a greeting of equality (l.3-4 *lū šulmu ana ahīya*) is emphasized later in the same letter ll.6-7 (*ša ahīya iš-puranni*) and ll.13-15 (*anāku ana ahīya ušēbala*)⁽²⁹⁴⁾.

Since this Šarru-duri held the title of *bēl-pāhete* at Kalhu⁽²⁹⁵⁾ this may indicate that the *šakin-māti* of Kalhu held a similar office as the *bēl-pāhete* who probably occupied the same building. The *šakin-māti* and *bēl-pāhete* could have had equal authority however. This is clearly stated in ABL 339:r.5-8: *kī^{LU} GAR.KUR LU^{LU} EN.NAM ša URU NINA u URU 4.DINGIR KÙ.BABBAR TA É.DINGIR^{MEŠ} ittašu šū lišši* - 'If the provincial-governor (of Aššur) (and) the provincial-governor of Nineveh and Arba'il take silver from temples, (then) he (i.e. the *bēl-pāhete* of Dur-Šarrukīn) may take (some).'⁽²⁹⁶⁾

In legal transactions from Nimrud, Bel-tarši-iluma, the *šakin-mati* of Kalhu, made a land grant to Bel-eṭir of the village of Kar-idiglayi⁽²⁹⁷⁾. Postgate believes that the absence of any price and the lack of designation of the original owner of the land may indicate that it is indeed a land grant and not a sale⁽²⁹⁸⁾. If this correct, it proves that the *šakin-māti* of Kalhu had sufficient authority to make such a grant to one of his subordinate officials on behalf of the king. This might be confirmed by the seal of Bel-tarši-iluma (ND 240)⁽²⁹⁹⁾ in which he is described both as the *šakin-māti* of Kalhu as well as the *ša-rēš* official of Adad-nerari III, king of Assyria:

- | | | |
|---|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>KIŠIB I^I EN.LÁ.DINGIR-ma</i> | 'Seal of Bel-tarsi-iluma <i>ša</i> |
| 2 | <i>ša SAG ša I^I U.ERÍN.GAB</i> | <i>reš</i> -official of Adad-nerari |
| 3 | <i>XX ŠAR GAR.KUR URU kalhi</i> | king of the world, the provincial- |
| 4 | <i>[^{KUR} hame]di KUR temeni</i> | governor of Kalhu, (Hame)di, Temani |
| 5 | <i>[^{KUR} y]aluna</i> | (and Y)aluna.' |

His far-reaching jurisdiction is also alluded to in a stele which reads: *I^I EN-tarši-DINGIR-ma LU^{LU} GAR.KUR URU kalhi KUR hamedī KUR sirgana KUR temeni KUR yalana*⁽³⁰⁰⁾. This seems to show that the provincial domain under Bel-tarši-iluma was enlarged to include Sirga following the date of the seal, while he remained the *šakin-māti* of Kalhu. A subordinate official refers to the authority of Bel-tarši-iluma in ND 266⁽³⁰¹⁾: *LU^{LU} SAG ša I^I bēl-tarši-iluma*. The writer, a certain Bel-issiya, was probably promoted to the position of *LU^{LU} GAL.URU^{MEŠ}-ni ša bēl-tarši-iluma*⁽³⁰²⁾. He was promoted from the position of *LU^{LU} SAG* to be a *rab-ālāni* who therefore seems to have been a

subordinate to the *šakin-māti*. Elsewhere, Bel-tarši-iluma occurs twice as a debtor⁽³⁰³⁾. In both cases the debts were being paid off by him on behalf of a third party. This may mean that the third party in question, such as the weaver in ND 261, was a member of his household or administration since no particular reason is given why the ^{LÚ}GAR.KUR (i.e. Bel-tarši-iluma) should have paid the debt. During his administrative career as provincial-governor Bel-tarši-iluma held the office of *limmu* in 797 BC⁽³⁰⁴⁾. In Nimrud letters and documents the most frequent and recurring form of dating is indeed by a *limmu* holding ^{LÚ}GAR.KUR⁽³⁰⁵⁾.

The contemporary archives of Tell-Halaf (Guzana)⁽³⁰⁶⁾ reveal the importance of Mannu-ki-mat-Aššur, its *šakin-māti*, eponym of the year 793 BC⁽³⁰⁷⁾, in the NA provincial organisation. He was the recipient of six royal orders (*abat šarri*)⁽³⁰⁸⁾, two letters from the *turtānu*⁽³⁰⁹⁾, one from the *rab-šarri*⁽³¹⁰⁾, and one from an individual called Mušallim-Aššur⁽³¹¹⁾. On the other hand, he was the author of four letters (*abat Imanu-ki-KUR-aššur ana PN*) to various individuals⁽³¹²⁾. He also occurs in one letter⁽³¹³⁾ and three broken texts⁽³¹⁴⁾. This correspondence and texts are mainly concerned with his provincial administration including the supply of animals either for royal usage (i.e. *harrān-šarri*) or other official purposes. He is also involved in private and official affairs. It seems that he had just as much authority as his colleagues in Assyria proper.

^{LÚ}GAR.KUR is used in NA royal correspondence to designate a provincial-governor, although in direct correspondence to the king or other high ranking officials he is mainly referred to by his personal name⁽³¹⁵⁾. According to one letter he seems to have taken action in order to ensure the continuity of the local government after the king's death⁽³¹⁶⁾. The letter was apparently written from Aššur to an unknown addressee at Nineveh:

⁶ *anīnu ina irti* ^{LÚ}ÚŠ ⁷ *ana bakê nittuši* ⁸ ^{LÚ}GAR.KUR TA ^{MEŠ}
^{LÚ}ERIN ^{MEŠ}-šú ⁹ *ina TUG.GÚ.F* ^{MEŠ} *hallupū* ¹⁰ *GIR.AN.BAR* ^{MEŠ}

karrū nī¹¹ tamar nīptalak ana LÚ SUKKAL¹² ana Hambi niq-
 tihi¹³ nuk atā anīnu ni¹⁴ haki¹⁵ ina rešunni izzazū¹⁶
 ina É.GAL ina É-rēdūti¹⁷ ina UGU ašli ittalak mā GĪŠ IG
 pitāni¹⁸ ina UGU LÚ GAR.KUR niššabat R.1 [MI¹⁹] -šú ša LÚ GAR.
 KUR LUGAL ittahhu²⁰ [r] i²¹ ina É.GAL ussēribšī ūmu ša
 nišmūni²² mā LUGAL mēti URU.ŠA.URU-āya²³ ihakkiū LÚ GAR.
 KUR TA ŠA É.GAL MĪ-šú ussēšia UDU MĪ AŠ.GAR taqtulu
 6 LÚ SAC-šú anā LÚ hazannūti²⁴ ussēšib LÚ SAC MĒŠ -šū²⁵ kusiāti²⁶
 labbušū HAR MĒŠ KUR GI²⁷ šaknū ina pān LÚ hazanni izzazū²⁸
 10 I qisāya LÚ NAR TA DUMU.MĪ MĒŠ -šū ina pānišunu izammurū

14
 LÚ GAR. KUR TA LÚ ERIN MĒŠ -šū GĪŠ MĒŠ AN.BAR karrū

'We went out to weep on the breast of the dead. We saw the šakin-māti with his soldiers clad in shirts (nāhlap-tu)(and) armed (equipped) with their iron daggers, we were afraid. So we made statements to the minister (and) Hambi as follows: "Why when we mourn the šakin-māti with his soldiers armed with iron daggers stand close beside us?(lit. at our head) in the palace, in the crown-prince's residence." He went toward the ašlu (gate) saying: "Open the door to us." We have taken (action) against the šakin-māti. The wife of the šakin-māti, the king has welcomed?(here) to the palace (and) made (let) her enter. When we heard that the king was dead, the people of Aššur wept. The šakin-māti caused his wife to leave the palace; she killed a female kid. He installed his official into the office of mayor. His officials wearing kusiāti-garments set with gold rings stand before the mayor. Qisa, the musician with his daughters sing before them.' This letter was probably written by a citizen, perhaps an official from Aššur to somebody at Nineveh who must have been his superior at the time of the king's death, though not a member of the royal family, otherwise he would have addressed them differently, like 'my lord' (bēlīya). Evidence that it was from Aššur is found in l.r.2, "the people of Aššur"; and furthermore there are only two bīt-rēdūti known in Assyria, one in Sherif-Khan (Tarbiṣu) north of Nineveh which was the residence of Ashurbanipal⁽³¹⁷⁾ and is unlikely, the other was in Aššur and probably relevant here. Unfortunately we cannot identify the king who died and there is also a break

at the beginning of the letter. Neither is it clear what the *šakin-māti*'s wife was doing in the palace and why she was made or allowed to go out. Was the sacrifice of the female kid a sign of mourning at Aššur during that period? The essential question for us is whether the *šakin-māti*'s authority normally extended to the appointment of one of his own officials (^{LU}SAG) to the high rank of "mayor" (*hazannu*). Such appointments were usually made by the king himself as indicated in ABL 150:1-4⁽³¹⁸⁾. It could be that this royal prerogative was taken over by the *šakin-māti* of Aššur only because of the king's sudden death and when immediate action had to be taken in order to preserve law and order. The text seems to echo the astonishment of the population when the *šakin-māti* with his troops surrounded the crown-prince's residence, perhaps to safeguard the succession. As such it would reflect an abnormal extension of the *šakin-māti*'s responsibilities and it could be seen as the implementation of martial law within the capital (i.e. Aššur) during a crisis.

The collection of taxes was also an important part of the *šakin-māti*'s administrative responsibilities within the province under his jurisdiction. Among that the assembly of horses was probably one of his duties, as in ABL 60:7-9⁽³¹⁹⁾. Another letter, ABL 442, mentions the house (or estate) of the *šakin-māti* of Aššur in a request to the king for the removal of corn-taxes from officials at Aššur. The actual context is unclear due to the damaged state of this letter.

Aššur-našir⁽³²⁰⁾ is a subordinate official of the *šakin-māti* of Nuhubaya, who is the recipient of a royal command: *abāt LUGAL ina muhhi I aššur-PAB IR ša LU^{LU}GAR.KUR URU nuhubāya⁽³²¹⁾*. It concerns detained sheep belonging to a person called Qua. It seems that the *šakin-māti* of Nuhubaya had acted wilfully by taking the copy-document of the judgement (ll.7-8) without reference to the royal authority with the result that the claimant

was dissatisfied and appealed to the king who then sent the royal command quoted here.

In royal correspondence the title of *šakin-māti* appears less frequently than that of his colleague the *bēl-pāhete*. A reason for this was that the personal name of the *šakin-māti* alone was normally used in correspondence with the king. A comparison of the names of the *šakin-māti* cited in letters with those in *limmu*-lists shows the importance of his rôle as provincial-governor in various ways (see Fig.12; p. 172)

It is significant that the city of Aššur was the centre of a province headed by a *šakin-māti* in both MA and NA times. This coincides with a lack of evidence for any *bēl-pāhete* there during these periods⁽³²²⁾. The *šakin-māti* is listed in sixth place in the *limmu* lists after the *šarru*, *turtānu*, *nāgir-ekalli*, *rab-šāqî*, *abarakku*, whereby the *šakin-māti* of Aššur is quoted first, followed by those from other provinces; ⁽³²³⁾ such a practice goes back to the reign of Adad-nerari III.

The *šakin-māti* does not occur among future claimants in legal transactions, nor is he a witness in the NA period. Since he is known to be of equal rank and authority with the *bēl-pāhete*, holding similar functions and responsibilities, it may be possible to consider these titles as alternatives for the provincial administrators within a province. Both seem to discharge their administrative responsibilities and activities through similar subordinate officials, e.g. *rab-ālāni* and *šanû*.

The problem of the interrelationship of the terms *bēl-pāhete* and *GAR.KUR/GAR.nu*

There has been much discussion whether the titles *bēl-pāhete* (EN.NAM) and *šakin-māti* (GAR.KUR), previously read *šá-kîn/šaknu*, represent different or identical offices. Johns argued that both *GAR.KUR* and *GAR-nu* are the same title, *šakin/nu*, and the only difference

is in the phonetic complement *kīn(KUR)*, and *nu*. He also wanted to read the logogram *NAM* as *pāhutu* and sometimes *šaknu*, on the basis of a) the action of Sargon II in appointing his official ^{LÚ}*šūt-rēšiya* as ^{LÚ}*NAM-uti* or as ^{LÚ}*GAR-uti* over conquered territory⁽³²⁴⁾;

b) an eponym is sometimes said to be *GAR.KUR* of GN, sometimes its *bēl-pāhete*⁽³²⁵⁾. However, *KUR* is never used as phonetic complement, and *šakin-māti* is sometimes written syllabically. The proposed reading of *NAM* as *šaknu* must now be questioned since *NAM* is never used for *šaknu* and there is no indication so far in any lexical text for the equation *NAM:šaknu*.

Klauber added that in contracts officials in charge of cancelling a sale-contract included both *bēl-pāhete* and *šaknu(GAR-nu)* in that order. He thought it possible that they were of equal rank or that the former could be the superior of the latter. He further suggested that *šaknu* was used to designate various administrative positions whereas *bēl-pāhete* was the common term for an official in charge of the administration of an area large or small⁽³²⁶⁾. His further suggestion for *šaknu(GAR-nu)* to be a lower-ranking official has recently been borne out by Henshaw⁽³²⁷⁾ and Postgate⁽³²⁸⁾.

Later scholars dealing with the interrelationship between the two offices have favoured the reading *GAR KUR:šā-kīn=šaknu(GAR-nu)*. This is based on their observations that similar functions seem to have been undertaken by both *bēl-pāhete* and *GAR.KUR* in the dating formulae (*limmu*) and in correspondence, especially in the Nimrud letters. In this way Wiseman suggested that the *GAR.KUR* communicated with the *bēl-pāhete* and that they both occupied the same building at Kalhu. He based his argument on ND 417 and 436 and he assumed that at the time of writing, one of them was absent so that a file-copy of any correspondence had to be kept⁽³²⁹⁾. Kinnier Wilson reached the same conclusion as Wiseman relying on greeting-formulae (*šulmu ana ahīya*) in the same letters.

He considered the *šakin-māti* and *bēl-pāhete* were synonymous titles, but gives no evidence for this assumption.

He also suggested that the *šaknu* may-be regarded as a 'military governor' ⁽³³⁾. This seems to be correct in regard to some of the *GAR.nu*. Van Driel ⁽³²⁾ and Postgate ⁽³²⁾ have shown that some *LUGAR.nu* were involved in such responsibilities. Postgate provided a plausible solution to this ambiguity by arguing that the *LUGAR.KUR* in these texts refers to the provincial-governor of the Aššur province who was writing to his contemporary colleague Šarru-duri, who is known elsewhere as the *bēl-pāhete* of Kalhu ⁽³³⁾.

Saggs pointed out that all Assyrian provincial administration was entrusted to a *šaknu* until the time of Tiglath-pileser III, when a *bēl-pāhete* was set up over a province. Although these two terms were in many instances used synonymously thereafter, he stated that it appears that in practice the title *bēl-pāhete* could also refer to a *šaknu*, except where the latter was part of the military administration ⁽³⁴⁾. This does not mean that there were no *bēl-pāhete* before Tiglath-Pileser III. Such have indeed been shown to occur as provincial governors during the MA and MB periods (see Fig.4 p.136 and Fig.5, p.137).

One reason why the term *bēl-pāhete* occurs less frequently in the extant tenth to mid-eighth century texts may be that we have to rely mainly on royal inscriptions, *limmu*-lists and Aššur-stelae and that this title never figures in the last two categories of texts even after Tiglath-pileser III. The *bēl-pāhete* does occur in the same period in dateable administrative texts from Nimrud. There were therefore, contra Saggs, *bēl-pāhetes* engaged in the provincial administration before Tiglath-pileser III.

Although Henshaw differentiates between the office of the *bēl-pāhete* and that of *šaknu*he regards *GAR.KUR/GAR-nu* as the *šaknu* ⁽³⁵⁾. As has been shown above (p.151), there is no doubt that *GAR.KUR* is to be read *šakin-māti*. Therefore *GAR.KUR* in all examples given by Henshaw from the *limmu*-lists and Aššur-stelae are to be read *šakin-māti* as 'provincial-governor', since only that official is so honoured on the stelae. All *šaknus*, however that is written, who occur either in *lū*-clauses or as witnesses in contracts are officials of low rank ⁽³⁶⁾. An exception ⁽³⁷⁾ is the *šaknu* (*GAR-nu*) associated with a foreign territory.

The other *šaknu*s cited by Henshaw of ABL 973; 1227; 1239; 1244 may well be local military officers only. The *GAR.KUR* of ABL 339 was probably the *šakin-māt* of Aššur (cf. ND 417, 436 above p.162 f).

As Henshaw points out a person might hold the titles of both *bēl-pāhete* and *šakin-māti*, but not with that of *šaknu* at the same time. This is twice attested during the MA period (see Fig.10:1,9) and he listed eleven cases from the NA period⁽³³⁸⁾, to which an additional eight instances can now be added (see Fig.9). The difficulty and ambiguity arises for us but not for the ancient scribes who knew and understood exactly what they meant by writing ^{LÚ}*GAR.KUR*, ^{LÚ}*GAR-nu*, ^{LÚ}*GAR.nu*^{MES}/*te* etc., since the same sign *GAR* also read *NINDA*⁽³³⁹⁾ and the phonetic complement *nu* denoted *šaknu*. More recently, Henshaw appears to have reverted to his earlier view⁽³⁴⁰⁾ which is now questionable. Postgate has argued that from the eighth century onwards Assyria seems to have acquired two terms for the provincial governor. i.e. *bēl-pāhete* and *šakin-māti*⁽³⁴¹⁾. His reading is *GAR.KUR=šakin māti/māt +GN* as that of Borger⁽³⁴²⁾. However, the royal inscriptions may add further evidence to elucidate the problem: In them there is i) no reference to any *šakin-māti* (*GAR.KUR*), being appointed over a province by the usual phrase (^{LÚ}*šūt-rešīya* ..*elīšunu aškun*) despite the use of *šakin-māti* as a provincial governor in dating-formulae and from Tiglath-pileser III onwards, the *šakin-māti* of Na'iri, Mazamu, Que, Gambulu, Babylon etc are cited (Fig.13*); ii) there are, however, cases of *šaknu* (*GAR-nu*) being designated with the phrase of appointment, sometimes even together with a *bēl-pāhete*⁽³⁴³⁾. This may indicate that *šaknu*, whether as a military or as a low ranking official, could be under the authority of the *bēl-pāhete*. ABL 380 may confirm this: ^{LÚ}*GAR-nu-te* ^{LÚ}*KAL.LAP*^{MES} *ša* ^I*setinu* ^{LÚ}*EN.NAM*⁽³⁴⁴⁾, or *šakin-māti* e.g. NLS 18,81⁽³⁴⁵⁾; iii) there is no reference to a *šaknu* (*GAR-nu*) associated with a province (*pāhutu*), as there are with the *šakin-māti* and *bēl-pāhete*⁽³⁴⁶⁾; iv) military campaigns are sometimes undertaken at the request of the king by a provincial-governor, i.e.

šakin-māti or *bēl-pāhete* of the province concerned ~~(see~~
 , but there is no reference to any such action
 by the *šaknu*. This might indicate his lower rank within
 the provincial administration even if he was a senior
 military officer there.

To sum up, the NA provincial administration employed
 two official administrative titles. i.e. the *bēl-pāhete*
 and *šakin-māti*, both functioning simultaneously. However,
 there were exceptional cases where one person held both
 offices. As shown above on p.151 the MA Aššur-bel-ilani
 was the *bēl-pāhete* and *šakin-māti* of Aššur and a similar
 situation applied to Eru-apla-ušur of Halahhi. In each
 of these cases the titles appear in texts from the same
 reign, Tukulti-Ninurta I and Shalmaneser I respectively.
 Fig.9 below confirms this practice during the NA period.
 It is possible to assume that each of the personal names
 cited in this figure is occupying two administrative posts
 at the same time, although there is no indication as to
 which of the offices is the primary appointment. This may
 be explained by the fact that the majority of occurrences
 are from the same province and in the same year of dating.
 That the second title was added to the first in these
 exceptional cases could have been due to either the death
 or transference of a colleague to another province, or
 his promotion to another rank and responsibility. Thus it
 is likely that the other officer took over his duties
 during the interim period, since there is evidence of
 officials being transferred from one province to another
 (see Fig.13:3; 23;25;27;83;100;107). This probably
 explains why a person held both titles at the same time,
 otherwise it would be possible to argue that these pro-
 vincial-governors were granted an honorary title, for long
 service and loyalty, in addition to their own professional
 title. This could furthermore be confirmed by personal
 names associated with two or more different titles as
 frequently occurs on the Aššur Stelae (see p 154.).

Therefore from the occurrences^e of the two titles
 it seems that the usage of that of *šakin-māti* was for

official purposes, while that of the *bēl-pāhete* was for everyday administration. This is borne out by the fact that the *bēl-pāhete* had no stelae erected in his name, nor is he found in the *limmu*-lists, despite the fact that he occurs as a *limmu* in other documents and royal inscriptions. However, on the other hand, we have no title of *šakin-māti* used in any legal transaction except as a *limmu* (Fig.13).

There are a number of cases where the correspondent to the king is acting as a provincial-governor although it is not known whether he had the title of *bēl-pāhete* or *šakin-māti*. These cases are collected in Fig.14, p.189.

Fig. 9

NA *šakin-māti* qualified as *bēl-pāhete*

PN	GN	š. m b-p	date	sources
1. Ahi-ilaya	Gargamiš	x	649	RLA II 428,441;ABL 1151: r.1
"	Ninua	x	668-627	ADD 853:i,3
2. Aššur-bani	Kalhu	x	713	RLA II 426;433;442; ADD 248:L.H.E.1-2= ARU 455
"	"	x	711	ADD 676:3
3. Aššur-dur-usur	Barhalza	x	652	RLA II 428;443;ADD 533: r.5-6=ARU 564;ABL 301: r.19, 944:r.5-6
"	"	x	651	Quarterly Statements of the Palestinian Exploration Fund(1904) p.231
4. Atar-ili	Lahiru	x	673	RLA II 428-429;445.Esarh. 64 A.16;ADD 118:r.5-6= ARU 315
"	"	x	673	ADD 8:7-8=ARU257,Esarh.64 A1,A.2
5. Bel-emuranni	Gargamiš	x	691	RLA II 426-427;446;ADD 1098: iii,1
"	"	x	"	Senn.131:n.1
6. Bel-dan	Kalhu	x	734	RLA II 424;431;445 <i>ina šane purišu</i> ADD 90:L.H.E.1-2= ARU 128;415:r.12=ARU 437
"	"	x	"	GPA 99:2-3 cf 183:2;184:2; 201:1;202:1
7. Belšunu	Hindanu	x	648	RLA II 428-429;446;Abp.II 136:i,2
"	"	x	"	III R 51,5:33;ADD 943: viii,r.5 1053:iii,2
8. Ga/ihlu	Hatarrika	x	689	RLA II 426-427;447;ADD 1098:iii,3
"	"	x	"	Senn.31.vi,84-85
9. Hananu	[]	x	701	RLA II 426-427;434;448; III R.2:46
"	Til-Barsip	x	"	KAR 111:r.9
10. Kanunaya	Bit-ešši	x	666	RLA II 428-429;449;ADD 420: r.8-9=ARU 100;421:r.E.2= ARU 100a
"	"	x	"	ADD 331;r.8-9=ARU 356
11. Manu(uzarne	Kullania	x	684	RLA II 426-427;450;ADD142:v.2 =ARU 310
"	"	x	"	K 2670=III R.2,22=RLA II 416;ADD 230:r.17-18=ARU 60

PN	GN	m p	date	sources
12. Mušallim-Aššur	Alihu	x	642	ADD 173:r.11=ARU 487; 250;r.3=ARU 72;160:B.E. 2=ARU 657 (Afo XVII,103)
"	Dur-sin-ahhe- eriba	x	"	Assur 116820 (Afo XVII,10)
13. Mušallim-Ninurta	Tille	x	766	RLA II 422;429;430;432; 451
"	[]	x	766?	ADD 426:B.E.1=ARU 89
14. Nabu-kenu-ušur	Samerina	x	690/761?	RLA II 426-427;451; Iraq XXXII,148:r.5-6
"	"	x		Afo XX,96:126
15. Nabu-šar-ahhešu	"	x	646	Iraq VII,105
"	"	x	"	Abp II,136:ii,2-3;Afo XIII,208 cf ABL 518: r.10-11,879:r.8-9;1142: r.6:ADD 68:r.6=ARU 112; Afo XVII,104
16. Sagabbu	[]	x	651	RLA II 428;454;ADD 333:11 =ARU 339
"	Harran	x	"	PRT 110
17. Šamaš-danninanni	Akkad	x	636	Abp II 90:2;Afo XVII
"	Babylon	x	"	Abp II,90 n.z.
18. Šarru-duri	Kalhu	x	?	GPA 172/132,cf 185:1; 186:1;187A:2;188:2;189:2
"	"	x	?	GPA 203:6-7;17
19. Šarru-nuri	Barhalza	x	674	RLA II 428-9;455;ADD 404: r.E.3=ARU 442;
"	"	x		ADD 853:ii,1

Fig.10 MA *šakin-mati* associated with GN and those
classified as *limmu*

* this person also occurs *asbēl-pāhete*

**this person inherited the office of *šakin-māti* from
father to son

+ this person was *limmu* also

PN (347)	GN	<i>limmu</i>	date	sources
1. Aššur ⁽³⁴⁸⁾ -bēl-ilāni ⁺	Aššur		Tn.I	Stele 88:1-3; KAJ 116:r.6; HUC XXIV 241-242; BiOr XIII, 142, n.3; Afo XIII, 115; RLA II, 438; see <u>Assur</u> I, 6
		x		KAJ 171:35-36; HUC XXIV, 233; 268; Afo XIII, 115; TR 2028:24-25; TR 2905:13-15; Afo XII, 23, 14-44; see Ep.115-116; OMA 107-108
2. Aššur-kitti-šeši	Aššur	x	Tp.I	Assur 18771; Afo XIII, 312; cf Assur 13058; Afo XIII, 312; see Ep.152; OMA 123-124
3. Aššur ⁽³⁴⁹⁾ -mudanni ⁺ q	Ninua		Ana	Stele 63:2; RLA 439; see <u>Assur</u> I, Ep.131; OMA 126
4. Aššur ⁽³⁵⁰⁾ -mutibbe/ mutib-kabte? +	Aššur		Ari	Stele 52:1-3, RLA II 439
5. Aššur-nadin-šumi ⁺ (351)			Šal.I	Stele 74:1-2, RLA II 438, see <u>Assur</u> I, 60
		x		KAH I, 13:76; 14:22-23; TR 108:11-13; 2086:2-3, 3009:1-3; TAK 140:17-18; Ep.77-78; OMA 132-133
6. Aššur-šumu-lišir ⁽³⁵²⁾ +			An.I	Stele 92:2-3; RLA II 438; see <u>Assur</u> I, 5
		x		Assur 13058, Afo XIII, 313; Ep.58; OMA 145
7. Bere	Arbail	x	Tp.I	Assur 23128, Afo XIII, 313, Afo XVI 215, No.19; KAR 152:36; Ep.153; OMA 176
8. Erib-Aššur ⁺ (353)	Isani		Tp.I	Stele 57:9-10; 67:5-7; RLA II 438-439, see <u>Assur</u> I, 7-8
		x		MARV.30:21-22; Afo XIII, 314, XVI, 215 No.22; VAT 14458, 14459, 14463; Ep.153; OMA 205
9. Eru-apla-ušur ⁺ (354)	Palahhi		Ad/NTA	Stele 128:2; RLA II 438; see <u>Assur</u> I, 3; OMA 214
10. Ittabš ⁺ i-den- Aššur ⁽³⁵⁵⁾			Tn.I	Stele 88:7-8, part of above 1
		x		VAT 8708; Afo XIII, 116, No 19; XIX, 34:12-14; 6:6-7; KAJ 279:10-12; KAV 99:47; 205:38-39; TR 2108:8-9; Ep.103-104; OMA 270-271
11. Marduk ⁺ (356)	Katmuhi		An.III	Stele 129:1-2; RLA II 438, see <u>Assur</u> I, 2; OMA 314
12. Marduk-uball ⁺ is ⁺ u	Isani		Tp.II	Stele 57:2, RLA 439, see <u>Assur</u> I, 8 part of above 8; OMA 317

PN	GN	<i>Limmu</i>	date	sources
13.Samedu ⁺	Ninua		Ad.	Stele 128:5-6,part of above 9 OMA 388
14.Reš-Aššur ⁺	Aššur		Arl.	Stele 52,part of above No 4
15.Šulmanu-šum- iqiś ⁺	Aššur		Adn.I/ Sāl.I	Stele 73:2-3;RLA II 438;see <u>Assur</u> I 7;OMA 469
16.Urad-kube ⁺			Tn.I	Stele 88:1-2,part of above 1;10;OMA 500

Fig.11 MB and Post-Kassite *šakin-māti* associated with GN⁽³⁵⁷⁾*denotes title *GAR-nu* given

+ denotes Kassite PN

PN	GN	date	sources	rôle
1.Arād-Gula	Ušti ⁽³⁵⁸⁾	1124-1103	BBst 6:ii,21	witness
2.Baba-šum-iddin ⁺	Babili	"	BBst 6:ii,18,PKB	"
	Bit-sin-šeme	?	Hinke Kud.ii,17 see PKB 252,n.1946	
3.Ekarra-iqiša	Isin	1100	BBst 25:r.26-27	"
4.Enlil-nadin-šum ⁺	Namar	1124-1103	BBst 6:ii,23; cf.ii,9-10	"
5.Enlil-šum-ibni	Isin	875	BBst 28:r.19-20.	"
		887-885	BBst 29:ii,8-9	"
6.Eriba-anu-rabu	Isin	1082	Sumer XXXII,94: 18-19,p.100	"
7.Ilu-ibni [*]	Suhi ⁽³⁵⁹⁾	885	BiOr XXVII,ii,69- 73,PKB 183,n.1127,	sent <i>nā-</i> <i>mur tu</i> to Tn.II
	"	882	AKA 289,i,100, PKB,183,n.1127	revolt in Suhi(II.i. fled to Assyria)
8.Kadašman-Buriaš ⁺	Dur-Kurigalzu	mid 11c.	AKA 133:iii,7,PKB 143	
9.Kaššu-bel-zeri ⁺	Tamtim	?	RA XXIX,88:8,PKB 250,257	
10.Kudurru [*]	Suhi	878	AKA 351,iii,17,PKB 185,n.1129	fought v. Anp.II
11.Mar-biti-ša-liti ⁺		955	BBst 9:iva,33-34	witness
12.Ninib-apla-iddina	Engur-Ištar	1173-1161	BBst 5:ii,31-33	"
13.Sin-bel-ili ⁺	Bit-pir'-amurru	mid.11.c.	BE I/2,149:i,3,PKB 251	
14.Sin-mušallim	Isin	955	BBst 9:top,15-16	"
15.Šamaš-reš-ušur ^{*(360)}	Suhi	780	WDOG 4,10:ii,27	governor
	Mari	770-752	PP,9-10,P1.2-5,PKB 219,n.370	
16.Sitti-Marduk	Namar	?	Afo XXIII,2:i,14	
17.Tab-ašab-Marduk ⁺	Halman	1124-1103	BBst 6:ii,22;25;31-32 IR 70:i,15-17;PKB 252	
18. --	Der ^{*(361)}		VAS I,70:i,1ff	
19. --	Ludbu ^{*(362)}		PKB 178-179	
20. --	Bit-sin-magir [*]		BE I,83:r.6-7	

Fig.12 List of *šakin-mātis* in correspondence with the king and *šimmu* also^{as}

PN	GN	King Eponym letter & other sources	content of letters
1. Aššur-bani	Kalhu	Sg.II 713 Fig.13:13	
		ABL 231	Public affairs?
		ABL 232-237	badly broken (ABL 233+CT 53, 671)
		ABL 420	Transportation of stone statue of a god by ship; PN in charge of this operation is to be rewarded
		GPA 241	Confirms the progress of work on the bath-house
		CT 53, 591	Fragment
2. Aššur-išmeani	Kilizu	724 Fig.13:17	
	Sg.II	NL 24	1. Reply to the king's enquiry on the harvest; 2. Levying harvest tax except for those exempt
3. Aššur-šallimanni	Arrapha	Tp.III 735 Fig.13:18	
		NL 65	Ukin-zer's death; Cooperation betw. Assur-sallimani and <i>tur taru</i> . They opened a fort, and there were heavy losses. Ukin-zer & Šum-ukin, his son, were killed. Marduk-apla-iddina agreed to deliver the corn ration.
		NL 10	Ukin-zer's rebellion
4. Bel-dan(an)	Kalhu	Tp.III 744 Fig.13.22.1	
		734 Fig.13.22.2	
		GPA 183	Royal command about cultivation of
		GPA 184	Public affairs

Fig.12 continued

PN	GN	King	Eponym	Letters and other sources	content of letters
5. Dur-Aššur	Tušan	Tp. III	728	Fig. 13:39	
			NL 28		confirmation that troops are ready to march
			NL 29		due to snow <i>dayālu</i> sent instead of the messenger the king ordered
			NL 49		Routine. Statement that all is well in the province.
			NL 67		Reconstruction of city-walls, gate and houses with labour forces from Pasappa, Arzuhina, Guzana and Arrapha
6. Ištar-duri	Arrapha	Sg. II	714	Fig. 13:52, 2	
			ABL 157		1. Two doctors sent with his messenger to the king. 2. Request to the king to send an inscription to the temple at Der. 3. Pacifying the king's anxiety about the harvest
			ABL 158		1. PN-official with special mission (rest broken) 2. reporting about Marduk-apla-iddina(" "
			ABL 159		Reply to the king's enquiry about cavalry, who were not enough to go against the Medes
			ABL 160-164		badly broken
			ABL 552		The appointment of <i>qurbātu</i> over prisoners
			ABL 707		Report about the rainy weather (rest broken)
			ABL 708		Public affairs (badly broken)
			ABL 709		Something being brought to Dur-Sarrukin (rest broken)
			ABL 711		(beginning broken) Reassuring the king about the watch

Fig.12 continued

PN	GN	King Eponym	letters & other sources	content of letters
7. Mahde	Nirua	725	Fig.13:57	
		Sg. II	ABL 987	concerning the Suprians (broken)
			CT 53,578	Fragment
		NL 62		Transportation of animals to the <i>qurūtu</i> official. Request for a posting station (<i>kalû</i>) between Nineveh and Šabirišū
8. Mannu-ki-Aššur-le'u Tille		Sg. II 709	Fig.13:60	
			CT 53,2	badly broken, concerning Kummū
9. Nashur-Bel Amedi		Sg. II 705	Fig.13:84	
			ABL 200	broken
		ABL 201		Reply to the king's enquiry about straw used by Nashur-Bel.
		ABL 424		military intelligence report
		ABL 548		Establishment of peace with Urartu
		ABL 732		Timber
		ABL 1083		(badly broken); report about the northern frontier
		CT 53,65		concerns PN whom the king sent to N.b. and the <i>qurūtu</i> -official
10. Nergal-uballit Arzuhina		Tp. III 731	Fig.13:90	
		" 735 or Sg. II 712	NL 61	dispute between Nergal-uballit and Bel-apla-iddin about territory belonging to Arzuhina. The former had used this land for 10 years, but Bel-a.i. took it when he went to Que
11. Ninurta-ilaya Našibina		736	Fig.13:94, i	
"		722	Fig.13:94, ii	

Fig.12 continued

PN	GN	king	eponym	letters & other sources	content of letters
			Tp.III	NL 15	captives from the <i>turtānu</i>
				NL 34	1.Report about the movements of 20 soldiers(break); 2.requests the king to order somebody to transport their harvest and bring it inside the city, since the guard was without corn or cattle.
				NL 37	Report to the palace-scribe about Puqudu-tribesmen at his disposal(break).Palace informed about communication with Barhalzi and the settlement of peoples(deportees?)
12.Ša -Aššur-dubbu	Tušhan	Sg.II	707	Fig.13:106 ABL 138	Report on ambush on his subordinate-official sent after fugitives in the Pienza. Order to build a military post there, and request to the king to send Itu'u to watch over the delivery of timber, because his men are performing service at Dur-šarruk
				ABL 139	Report about He-tušup, king of Urartu, and the establishment of a peace-treaty with him.
				ABL 703	(broken); a <i>qēpu</i> -official involved
				ABL 704	(broken)Report received from subordinate official about 100 men
				ABL 705	1.Seizure by Šuprians. 2.Cutting &transport of timber 3.Report of uprising against a <i>bél-pāhete</i> who had requested his support.
				CT 53,4	(badly broken),passing on information which had been received
				CT 53,101	(broken)
				CT 53,160	(broken)
13.Šamaš-bel-ušur	Arzuhina	Sg.II	710	Fig.13:108,2	

Fig.12 continued

PN	GN	king	eponym	letters & other sources	content of letters
		Sg.II		ABL 408	Re posting station, supplies to/from <i>qurḫu-tu</i> - official. Transportation of animals to Arrapha & Mazamua. King requested to build post between Arzuhina & Arakdi.
				ABL 635	Broken. Report about journeys.
				ABL 802	Transport of fodder from Arzuhina. Claims that ship is getting too old to carry straw & fodder (broken)
				ABL 1192	(badly broken), probably concerns transportation from Arzuhina.
14.Šarru-emuranni	Mazamua	Sg.II 712		Fig.13:117	(1/6.)
				ABL 310	Tribute of horses and sheep from Kibatki
				ABL 311	Explanation for being too late to join the <i>bēl-pāhete</i> of Arrapha in journey to Parsua as Sargon had ordered
				ABL 312	Military expedition & difficulty if crossing the river with Kelek. Wait for somebody in Bit-Hamban. Requests to <i>šakm</i> of Bit-Kudin to support him in his military action to prevent revolt.
				ABL 316	(broken)
				ABL 317	Apology for lack of information. Subjects of the king from Gargamis being sent on to the king.
				ABL 318;321	(broken)
				ABL 387	Delivery of wine. Concerning an interpreter. Babylonians sent to the king concerning rebels.
				ABL 758	(broken) concerns an image.
				ABL 761	(broken)
				GPA 242	Explanation to the king of misbehaviour.

Fig.12 continued

PN	GN	king	exonym	letters & other sources	content of letters
15. Tak-lak- ana-Bel	Našibina	Sg.II	715	Fig.13:128	
				ABL 573, ABL 980	The appointment of Assyrian official over Capteans and confirmation that there was some rebellion.
				ABL 585	(broken)Concerns royal order
				ABL 610	Broken report about foreign governor(<i>šaknu</i>) who refused to come and even negotiate with him inspite other messengers or the writer himself. Reply to order on deportation of 2-3 villages. (177)
				ABL 639,ABL 1432	(same subject) Accusation of silver belonging to the <i>raḫ-kīšūr</i> who is also accused of failure to deliver his taxes.
				ABL 1302,ABL 1470	(both broken)
16.Tab-šill- Ešarra	Aššur	Sg.II	716	Fig.13:131	
				ABL 87	Cutting & transportation of wood from Saparrate? Carpenters sent to the king.
				ABL 88;98;396;1433	Affairs in Birat and its messengers. ABL 88 is a interesting example of the importance of keeping time for royal appointment. <i>qēpu</i> of Birat explain his failure to attend the king's meeting & the plundering of Op is and Sippar.
				ABL 89	Request to king for transfer of ship of <i>kēl-pāhe</i> of Arrapha used as ferry at Opis to Bab-bītqī
				ABL 330, cf 483,1446	(broken).Ships involved

Fig.12 continued

PN	GN	king	eponym	letters & other sources	content of letters
				ABL 90	Concerns an <i>adû</i> -oath document belonging to Qurdi. Requests for communication with other officials in charge of the same matter.
				ABL 91	Reconstruction of the palace at Aššur. The <i>Urāsi</i> & <i>hazanu</i> are also involved.
				ABL 91, 397-398, 484	Timber
				ABL 93	Broken report about harvest in Assyria.
				ABL 94	Royal command to take an <i>adû</i> -oath in Aššur. He replies that he cannot enter Aššur, since he did not receive any message. Reaffirmation of reply to the king's enquiry about his troops.
				ABL 95	Reply to the king's question why the ^{LÚ} GAL.SAG should go to Kar-šamaš (broken). The Itu'a of the <i>hēl-pāhete</i> is involved. Confirms that 100 men are watching Šipte and requests return of 50 of them.
				ABL 90	(broken)
				ABL 97	Royal enquiry about the feeding of Tab-šill-ešarra's horses. He explains that half of them are in Barhalza (remainder broken)
				ABL 99	Broken. Ekallate is mentioned. Because Assur is exempt from the <i>ilku</i> -tax this has fallen upon Tab.s.e. Request on purchase of 550 slaves for the palace. Request for 190 of them for repair of palace in Ekallate.
				ABL 480	Field taken by the king in Qurani in Halahhi to be given to the temple of Nabu at Dur-Sarrukin. References to <i>sakin-māti</i> & <i>halazī</i> .
				ABL 481	(broken)
				ABL 482	Broken report about Iu'a who crossed the river to keep watch on Simni.
				ABL 547	see p.107

Fig.12 continued

PN	GN	king eponym	letters & other sources	content of letters
			ABL 562	Broken report concerning arrival and dispatch of a person.
			ABL 557	Report about the death of priest & the arrangement for his son and nephew to take over his post,
			ABL 621	Report about advance of military campaign. Promise to send details about crossing point of a river.
			ABL 626	Broken report about transportation of reeds. Request to the king to issue order to the <i>bāl-pākkē</i> as the reeds are in the river-bed belonging to Ubase(break).
			ABL 1015	(badly broken) Omen report?
			GPA 240	Report about movements of locusts.
17.Zer-ibni	Rasappa	Sg.II 718	Fig.13:135	
			GPA 249:ii11-12	
			ABL 154	Complaint about Zer-ibni's misbehaviour & his expl
			ABL 155	Broken report about military officers.
			ABL 156	(broken)
			ABL 706	(broken) Reply to the king about a scribe.
			Tcl.9,68	

Fig.13 NA *šakin-māti* classified as *linnu* and others+ occurs also as *hēl-pāhete* (see Fig.9)

* occurs also as correspondent (see Fig.12)

x Non-Assyrian, semi-independent, provincial-governor

PN	GN	date	sources
1. Abulli-apil-kumiya	Sapirete	873	Stele 50. He is described as ^{LÚ} GAL ša UGU ša ^{URU} kalhi RLA II 418,439
2. Adad-ah-iddina	Aššur	897	RLA II 418; KAH 83 (MAOG IX, 22:61; ARI II, 428; 455)
3. i) Adad-bel-ukin	Aššur	748	RLA II 424; 441
	K. Tukulti-N., Ekallati, Itu'a, Ruquha	?	Stele 37
3. ii) "	Kullania	738	RLA II 424, 441. ND 218=GPA 98:r.L.H.E.16 ND 215=GPA 106:r.11-12
4. Adad-it'i ^x	Guzana	824-822	STF:8
5. Adad-mušamir	Kilizu	788	RLA II 422, 429, 441; ND 254=GPA 94;r.11; ND 217=GPA 103:r.17; ND 234=GPA 52: r.16
6. Adad-remanni	Tušhan?	841	RLA II 420, 441
7. Adad-uballit	Tamnunna	785	RLA II 422, 430, 431, 441
8. Ahi-ilayā	Gargamiš	649	RLA II 428, ⁴⁴¹ see Quartley Statements of the Palestinian Explor. Funds (1905) 207; ABL 1151:r.1
9. Amiyanu/ Auyan	Babili	655	RLA II 428, 441, Abp. II 298:38; Iraq XII, 40
10. (Ana) bel-taklak (³⁶³)	Isana	758	RLA II 424, 430, 432, 441
11. Aplaya	Mazamua	768	RLA II 422, 430, 432, 442
	"Amedi, Aššur		Stele 34
12. Aššur-balṭi-niše	Arrapha	802	RLA II 422, 429, 431, 442
13. Aššur-bani * +	Kalhu	713	⁴²⁶ RLA II 433, 442, ADD 248; L.H.E.1-2= ARU 455; 677:r.10; 765:2; 809:r.27; 926:6; 1098:ii, 10; NARGD 32:62
14. 1) Aššur-bel-ušur	Kirruri	796	RLA II, 422, 429, 431, 442
2) "	Kalhu	772	RLA II 422, 430, 432, 442
3) "	[]	695	RLA II 426, 442: CT 26, 115:v.1=Senn.62, v.1. ADD 31:E.1, r.1=ARU 280; 34:r.E.1 =ARU 264, 569:r.12-13=ARU 567; 616:r.E.1

Fig.13 continued

PN	GN	date	sources
15. Aššur- i)danninanni/	Mazumua	733	RLA II 424,431,443; TP.111.11.30:8, Tp III. I 50:27 ND 497=GPA 134:5; ND 479(c)=GPA 174:
15.ii)	Que	685	RLA II 426-7,443
16. Aššur-dur- uṣur +	Barhalza	652	RLA II 428,443;ADD 533:r.5=ARU 564;ABL 301: r.19;944:r.5-6
17.Aššur-išme- 'anni *	Kilizi	724	RLA II 424,432,443
18.Aššur- šallimanni *	Arrapha	735	RLA II 424,431,445;ND 251=GPA 6:r.27
19. Aššur-šarru- uṣur(364)	Marqasa	643	Afo XVII,102:47-48
20. Atar-ili+	Lahiru	673	RLA II 428,429 ⁴⁴⁵ ;ADD 118:r.6=ARU 315;431_r.15= ARU 98
21. Balatu ⁽³⁶⁵⁾	Šibaniba	787/6?	RLA II 422,445;ADD 653:r.3=ARU 2;NARGD 3: r.2-3 ^{423,}
22.i) Bel-dan(an)	Kalhu	744	RLA II 424,430,445
ii) " * +	"	734	RLA II 424,431,445;ADD 90:L.H.E.1-2=ARU 128; 415:12-13=ARU 437;ND 472=GPA 25:r.29-30
23.i) Bel-emuranni	Rašappa	737	RLA II 424,431,446;ND 489=GPA 107:r.7-8; ND 255=GPA 96:r.14
ii) " +	Gargamiš	691	RLA II 426-7,446
24. Bel-harran- bel-uṣur ⁽³⁶⁶⁾	Guzana	727	RLA II 424,432,446;ND 276=GPA 29:r.26-27
24* Bel-šadua	Tamnunna	756	RLA II 424,430,432,446
25.i) Bel-harran- šadua ⁽³⁶⁷⁾	Kar-Aššur- ah-iddina	650	RLA II 426-7,446:ADD 7:r.6=ARU 284;147:r.3= ARU 324;696:r.E.2;705r.4.=859,843:3-4;ABL 289:r.11;517:r.18;829:r.7;KK 3742;14306,1292, III R,1:vi,36;PRT 120;121,r.1
ii) "	Šurri	650	K 1292 + DT 130 (unpub.)
26. Bel-ilaya	Arrapha	769	RLA II 422,430,432,446;ND 265=GPA 4:r.25
27.i) Bel-iqbi	Mazumua	616	Afo XVII,102:54a;118
ii) "	Tušan	?	FNALD 15:47
28. Bel-iqišanni	Šibhiniš	791	RLA II 422,429,431,446;ND 203=GPA 15,51;ND 253 =GPA 3:31;ND 247=GPA 16:r.7
29. Bel-lu-dari	Tille	730	RLA II 424,431,432,446;ADD 295:r.E.2=ARU 498; 658:10=ARU 9
30. Bel-qata- šabat	Mazumua	810	RLA II 420,428,433,446
31. Bel-šadua	Tamnunna	756	RLA II 424,430,432,446: ND 495=GPA 22:r.30- 31;Tcl 9:62:9-10

Fig.13 continued

PN	GN	date	sources
32. Bel-šarrani	Kurba'il	699	RLA II 426,446; ADD 328:r.14-15=ARU 357;371:r.E.1-2=ARU 387
33. Belšunu +	Hindan	648	RLA II 428,n.6;446; III R 51;5; Abp. II 136:i,2 137:n.6; Abp. III 297; ADD 197:r.6=ARU 488; ABL 527:r.25;844:1
34. Bel-tarši-iluma	Kalhu	797	RLA II 423,429,431,446; IR 35,2:9; ¹⁰ ND 203=GPA 15:[11-12]; ND 260=GPA 33:6-7; ND 266=GPA 34:67; ND 263=GPA 51:14-15; ND 231=GPA 64:3; ND 476=GPA 66:1-2,6-7; ND 216=GPA 90:3-4,20; ND 261=GPA 91:L.E. 39; ND 211=GPA 93; B.E.19; ND 252=GPA 170; NARGD 2: 4-5; 5:23
	" , Hamedī, Sirgana, Temeni, Jaluni	808-775	Stele (IR.35,2:9-10); cf. ND 240(b)=GPA 171
35. Belu-uballit	Tabiṭ, Harran, Huzirina, Dur mat-qibani	814	Stele 44. he is holding other titles: ^{LU} tur-tanu, ^{LU} NIMGUR, ^{LU} ša-tam E.KUR ^{MES} LU ^{ERIN} ha
36. Bur-raman	[]	847	RLA II 420,434,447
37. Bur-Sagale	Gūzana	763	RLA II 422,430,432,447
38. Dananu (368)	Manṣuate	680	RLA II 426,447; ADD 74:r.E.1-2=ARU 128;3; E.1=ARU 283;26:7=ARU 255;113:r.7=ARU 637,164:L.E.2=ARU 658.229:r.10=ARU 64;359:r.9=ARU 372;360:r.13=ARU 373
39. Dur-aššur *	Tuṣhan	728	RLA II 424,431,432,447; ND 433=GPA 108:r.15
40. Gabbaru	Dur-Sin-ahhe-eriba	667	RLA II 428,447; ADD 315:r.7=ARU 502
41. Gabbiya-ana-Aššur	Aššur	909	KAH II 83:r.20; ARI II,410
42. Ga/ihlu ³⁶⁹	Matarikka	689	RLA II 426,447
43. Habani	Til-Barsip	?	Afo XVII,103
44. Hadi-libbisu	[]	849	RLA II 420,434,448
45. Hananu +	Til-Barsip	701	RLA II 426-7,448, IIIR 2:46
46. Hubaya	Arrapha?	829	RLA II 420,433,448; III R,1:ii,34
47. Ili-danninanni Que		647	Afo XVII,103; ..
48.1) Ili-issiya Aššur		804	RLA II 422,429,431,448,
	" , Kar-T.n., Ekallate, Itu', Ruquha		Stele 38
2) "	Dimašqa	694	RLA II 426,448; CT 26,31:viii,88; ADD 58:E.2 = ARU 150;427:r.16-17=ARU 186
48* Ili-mukin-ahi	Mazamua	828	RLA II 420,433,448
49. Iluma-le'u	Našibina	782	RLA II 422,430,431,448 ;
50. (I)qisu	Šibhiniš	755	RLA II 424,430,432,449
51. Issi-Adad-aninu	Magiddu	679	RLA II 426,449

(Senn. 116)

Fig.13 continued

PN	GN	date	sources
52. 1) Iṣtar-duri	Naṣibina	774	RLA II 422 430, 432, 449
2) " *	Arrapha	714	RLA II 426, 449; Sg. II, 8:430; ND 1120:2, <u>Iraq XIV, 65-66, v. Driel, The Cult of Aššur, 202</u>
53. Iṣtar-emuqaya	Tuṣhan	867	RLA II 418, 449, Stele 99
54. 1) Kunnunaya	Kilizu	703	RLA II 426, cf. Nuhšaya (RLA II 453, APN 176)
2) " +	Bīt-ešši	666	RLA II 428, 449; ADD 420: r. 8-9 = ARU 100; 421: r. E. 2 = ARU 100a
55. Laqipu	Kilizu	760	RLA II 422, 430, 432, 449
56. Lip/Pahhu/ar-ili	Kirruri	729	RLA II, ⁴²⁴ 429, 431, 432, 449
57. Maḥde *	Ninua	725	RLA II 424, 432, 450
58. 1) Mannu-ki-Adad	Raqmat	773	RLA II 422, 430, 432, 450
2) " "	Supite	683	RLA II 426, 450; ADD 47: r. 4 = ARU 251; 51: r. 2-3 = ARU 252; 122: r. 2 = ARU 220; 123: r. 1 = ARU 219, 155: r. 3 = ARU 237; 273, r. E. 1 = ARU 550; 447: r. 15-16 = 61 (370)
59. Mannu-ki-ahhḫ	Šimir(ra)	627	Afo XVII, 103: 76, 119
60. Mannu-ki-Aššur-le'i	Tille	709	RLA II 426, 433, 450; ADD 1141: 58; K 2688; Tc1 9; 58: 59-60 (FNALD 2: 59)
61. Mannu-ki-mat-Aššur	Guzana	793	RLA II, 422, 429, 431, 450; ND 211 = GPA 93: r. 6-7
62. Man(nu) za/rni	Kullania	684	RLA II 426, 450; ADD 142: r. 2 = ARU 310
63. Marduk-bel-uṣur	Amedi	726	RLA II 424, 432, 450; ND 252(q) = GPA 175: 1-2?
64. Marduk-išme-anni	Amedi	799	RLA II 422, 429, 431, 450
	Na'iri, Andiba, Babu', Malani [XX] &? Suhni		Stele 39
65. Marduk-remanni	Kilizu	644	Afo XVII, 103: 77
66. Marduk-šadua/uni	Raqmat	795	RLA II 422, 429, 431, 450; ND 493 = GPA 92: r. 19; ND 477 = GPA 102: r. 9
67. 1) Marduk-šarru-uṣur	Kurbail	784	RLA II 422, 430, ⁴²⁵ 450
2) " "	Que	636/5	Afo XVII, 103: 78-82
68. Metunu	Isana	700	RLA II 426, 435, 450; ADD 112: L.H.E. 1 = ARU 235; 176: r. 8 = ARU 630; 294: r. 11 = ARU 49
69. Mukin-abuaya	Tuṣhan	794	RLA II 422, 429, 431, 450

Fig.13 continued

PN	GN	date	sources
70. Mušallim- Aššur	Alihu	642	Afo XVII, 103:83-90
71. i) Mušallim- Ninurta	Tille	792	RLA II 422, 429, 431, 451; ADD 651: r.11 = ARU 1
ii) " "	"	766	RLA II 422, 430, 432, 451; ND 237 = GPA 78: r.13
72. Mušekniš	Kirruri	813	RLA II 418, 428, 451
73. Mutakkil- Aššur	Guzana	706	RLA II 426, 435, 451; ADD 484: r.9 = ARU 450
74. Nabu-ahhe- eriš	Samallu	681	RLA II 426-7, 451; ADD 127: r.8 = ARU 314; 30: E.1 = ARU 254; 231: r.14 = ARU 202; 269: r.8 = ARU 63; 635: r.1
75. 1) Nabu-bel- uṣur	Arrapha	745	RLA II 424, 430, 451
2) " "	Si'ime	732	RLA II 424, 431, 451
3) " "	Dur-Šarrukin	672	RLA II 428, 451; ADD 829: r.4, ADD 15: r.E.2 = ARU 260; 64: r.14 = ARU 152; VTE 79: viii, 670; ; PRT 100
76. Nabu- danninani	Que	647	Afo XVII 103:93-94
77. Nabu-dini- eppuṣ	Ninua	704	RLA II 426, 435, 451; ADD 141: r.2 = ARU 304
78. Nabu-dur- uṣur	Tammunna	697	RLA II 426, 451; ADD 179: r.6 = ARU 473; Bu.89, 4-26, 177
79. 1) Nabu-kin- uṣur	Ninua	761	PLA II 422, 430, 432, 451-2
2) " "	Samerina	690	RLA II 426-7, 451; ADD 55: r.1 = ARU 247; Iraq XXXII, 148; Afo XX 96: 126
80. Nabu-le'ū Arba'il		702	RLA II 426, 451, Layard 63: 1 (Senn.20)
82. 1) Nabu-šar- uṣur (371)	Tatmusi	786	RLA II 422-3, 429, 431, 451
2) " "	Marqasa	682	RLA II 426, 451; ADD 21: r.2 = ARU 253, 129: 8 = ARU 313; 132: r.5 = ARU 311; 136: r.5 = ARU 312; 143: r.2 = ARU 332; 166: L.H.E.2 = ARU 644; 213: r.g-lo = ARU 189; 212: r.6-7 = ARU 500; 276: L.H.E.1 = ARU 532; 363: r.5 = ARU 371; 370: r.3 = ARU 114; 679: r.6-7 = ARU 292; 1098: iii, 10
81. Nabu-šar- ahhe šu	Samerina	646	Afo XVII, 104: 105-108
83. i) Nadin- ahhe	Dur-Šarrukin	693	RLA II, 426-7, 448; ADD 240: r.17-18; = ARU 59; 243: r.E.2 = ARU 207; 400: r.10-11 = ARU 396
ii) " "	Šimirra	688	RLA II 426-7, 452; ADD 17: r.4 = ARU 246; 66: r.9 = ARU 124; 133: r.2-3 = ARU 307; 145: r.2-3 = ARU 331; 491: r.11-12 = ARU 58

Fig.13 continued

PN	GN	date	sources
84.Našhur-bel *	Amedi	705	RLA II 426-7,435,452; KAH I 41:7
85.Nergal-alik-pani []		848	RLA II 420,434,457
86.1) Nergal ^(Bil) eriš	Rašappa	803	RLA II 422,429,457
2) "	"	775	RLA II 422,430,431,457; ND 252(h)=GPA 21:r.6; ND 269=GPA 80:r.9; ND 216=GPA 90:r.34
87.1)Nergal-ilaya	Kalhi	830	RLA II 420,433,452
2) "	Tille	817	RLA II 420,452: ND 492=GPA 2:r.23(or 808 BC) 252(k)=GPA 170
88.Nergal-mudanmiq	Ninua	834	RLA II 420,433,457
89.Nergal-našir	Našibina	746	RLA II 424,430,432,433,452, ...; ND 473= GPA 24:r.31-32
90.Nergal-uballiš *	Arzuhina	731	RLA II 424 ⁴³¹ ,432,452
91. Ninurta-alik-pani	Si'ime	711	RLA II 426-7,452;ADD5:r.7,E.1=ARU 635;676;5. ND 223=GPA 144:r.6
92.Ninurta-ašared	Rašmat	812	RLA II 420,428,452
93. Ninurta-iddina	Kurba'il	757	RLA II 424,430,432,452
94.1)Ninurta-i)ilaya	Arzuhina	837	RLA II 420,433,453
ii) "	"	801	RLA II 422,429,453
2.i) " *	Našibina	736	RLA II 424,431,453
2.ii) "	[]	722	RLA II 424,453
95.Ninurta-kibši-ušur	Rašappa	838	RLA II 420,433,453
	Na'iri,Andi, Sinala,Gurruna, Mallani,Alzi		Stele 47. He is described as ^{LÚ} šaqû rabû ša 1. a ^š ulman-ašared šar ^{KUR} aššur
96.Ninurta-kin-ušur	Ninua	789	RLA II 422,429,431,453
97.Ninurta-mukin-niše	Kirruri	765	RLA II 422,430,432,453
98.Ninurta-našir	Mazamua	783	RLA II 422,430,431,453; ND496=GPA 17:r.48; ND 230(b)=GPA 79:r.6
99. Ninurta-šeziḫanni	Ta1mušu	754	RLA II 424,430,432,453; ND 270=GPA 81:r.11-12; 229=GPA 23:r.32;ND 212=GPA 5:r.19
100.1)Pan-Aššur-lamur	Aššur	776	RLA II 422,430,431,453

Fig.13 continued.

PN	GN	date	sources
100.ii) "	Arba'il	759	RLA II 422,430,432,453
101.1) Qurdi-Aššur	Raqmat	836	RLA II 420,433,453
2) "	Arzuhina	767	RLA II 422,430,432,453
102.Sagabbu ⁺	Harran	651	RLA II 428,454; PRT No.105:r.20;106:r.1;107: 109:r.11,110:r.7;112:r.5;113:r.7;114:r.3;115:r.14;118:r.10;108:r.4; ; 111:r.4;116:r.2;117:r.1;119:r.4
103.Sin-šalli-manni	Rašappa	747	RLA II 424,430,432,454
104.Šidqi-ilaya	Tušan	764	RLA II 422,430,432,454
105.Šil-Ištar	Arba'il	787	RLA II 422,429,431,454
106.Ša-Aššur [*] -dubbu	Tušan	707	RLA II 426-7,435,454
107.il) Šamaš-abuaya	Našibina	852	RLA 420,434,454; AfO.XXI,35
ij) " (372)	Guzana?	840	RLA II 420,454
108.i) Šamaš-beš-ušur Kalhu		864 851	RLA II 418, 453 RLA II 420,434,453; Balawat:iv,1
ii) " "	"Hamedī,		
iii) "	Singani, Ialuna		Stele 42
2) " *	Arzuhina	710	RLA II 426-7,455:ND 221=GPA 145:r.7; ND,222=GPA 146:r.5;ND 252(n)=GPA 147:r.2;ADD 392:r.4-8=ARU 31;416:r.2-3=ARU 438
109.Šamaš ⁺ -danninanni	Akkad	636	AfO XVII 106:182c; Abp.II 90:1-2
110.Šamaš-kašid-ayabi	Asdud	669	RLA II 428-9,455;ADD 103:r.E.2=ARU 241; 104:L.H.E. =ARU 241;188:r.5=ARU 479; 366:r.E.2=ARU 52
111.Šamaš-kumua	Arrapha	811	RLA II 420,428 ,455
112.Šamaš-nuri	Guzana	866	RLA II 418,455; STF:9
113.Šamaš-reš-ušur [*]	Suhi & Mari	Anp.II Sal.III	see p.57-58
114.Šamaš-upahhar	Kirruri	708	RLA II 426-7;433,455
115.i) Šar(niš) pati-beli	Našibina	831	RLA II 420,433,455
ii) "	"	815	RLA II 420,428,455
iii) "	Aššur," Uraḫka, Kahat, Amasaka		Stele 41
116.Šarru-duṛi ⁺	Kalhu	?	ND 275a=GPA 172:14;ND 436=GPA 188:2; ND 417=GPA 189:2

Fig.13 continued

PN	GN	date	sources
117. Šarru-emuranni *	Mazumua	712	RLA II 426-7,433,455: Sg.II,8:11
118. Šarru-lu-dari	Dur-Šarrukin	664	RLA II 428-9,455;ADD 377:r.9=ARU 399;398:r.14=ARU 421;115:r.1=ARU 321;cf ADD 425:r.24=ARU 413
119. Šarru-nuri ⁺	Barhalza	674	RLA II 428-9,455;ADD 404:r.E.3=ARU 442;383:r.E.1=ARU 33;126:r.2=ARU 638
120. Še'i-Aššur	Kilizu	909	RLA II 418,455; KAH II 83:r.19;ARI II 410
121. Šepe-Ištar	Našibina	800	RLA II 422,429,455: ND 236=GPA 74:r.14;NARGD 27:13;28:9
122. Šepe-Šamaš	Isana	790	RLA II 422,429,455;NARGD 46:r.8
123. Šepe-Šarri	Kirruri	835	RLA II 420,433,455;ND 491=GPA 100:r.12
124. Šulmu-bel	Taimusi	696	RLA II 426-7,455; ADD 297:r.16-17=ARU 547;614:r.3-4=ARU 93;Senn.61:iv,61
125. Šulmu-bel-lamur	Arzuhina	839	RLA II 420,433,456
126. Šulmu-bel-lašme	Der	670	RLA II 428-9,456; ADD 42:8=ARU 296;44:L.H.E.2=ARU 295;99:r.1=ARU 240;172:r.18-19=ARU 461;181:r.14-15=ARU 460;202:r.10=ARU 477;332:r.15-16=ARU 360;625:r.17-18=ARU 116
127. Šulmu-šarri	Halzi-adbar	698	RLA II 426-7,456; ADD 198:r.12=ARU 472;468:r.14-15=ARU 439;473:r.25=ARU 96;475:r.9=ARU 525
128. Taklak-ana-bel *	Našibina	715	RLA II 426-7,456;ADD 382:r.6-7=ARU 395;766:2;ND 486=GPA 255:r.5
129. Taklak-ana-šarri	Nimit-Ištar	842	RLA II 420,456; WO I 474:Col.1-3
130. Tab-beli	Amedi	762	RLA II 422,430,432,456
131. Tab-šill-ešarra *	Aššur	716	RLA II 426-7,456
132. Ululaya	Kilizu	832	RLA II 420,433,456
133. Upaqa-ana-Arba'il	Dur-Šarrukin	630	Afo XVII 106:191-199
134. Zazaya	Arpadda	692	RLA II 426-7,457;ADD 158:r.E.1-2=ARU 557;189:r.5=ARU 474
135. Zer-ibni ^{*(373)}	Rašappa	718	RLA II 424-5,457;ND 1110=GPA 249:r.11-12

Fig.13* Unnamed NA *šakin-māti* associated with GN

<i>šakin-māti</i>	GN	date	sources
1.	Babil	710/8	Sg.II.II 47:12-16 + 48:1-2; Sg.II.I 60:364;369; II 74:137-140, I,124
2.	Gambul (Uknu-river)	710	Sg.II.II 28:14 + 29:1-4 + 20:1-3 + 32:5-8; Sg.II.I,44-46:267-271, cf. II 32:11-15 + 29:8-14, I 46-48:274-278, II 47:12-16 + 48:1-2, I,60 : 364-369; II 74:137-140, I,124
3.	Lullumu	Tp.III	Tp.III.II 21:18-19, Tp.III.I 24:139-140
4.	Na'iri	Tp.III	Tp.III.II 32:32-36, Tp.III.I 46 cf II 13:1-4, I 30-32:177-180; II 21:20 + 15:1-2, I 24:141-142
5.	Nuhubaya	?	ABL 307:2,6
6.	Parsua(<i>š</i>)	Sg.II	Sg.II.8:i,70-73
7.	Que	Sg.II	Sg.II.II 48:3-5, Sg.II.I,62:373-373; <u>Iraq</u> XXXV,27-31
8.	(Sameri)naya	Sg.II	Lie,Sg.II,4:11, See n.274(I)
9.	<i>š</i> (s)ahuppa	809	NARGD 42-44:r29, see <u>Afo</u> XXIV,72
		Adn.III	Tell-Half 24:8

Fig.14 Other NA provincial-administrators as correspondents to the king

PN	GN	sources
1. Adad-hati	Hamat	ABL 224-5, NL 19-20
2. Adad-ibni	Til-Barsip/ Zaddi?	ABL 322-3; 522
3. Adad-isše ¹ a	Arzuhina	ABL 342, 529; NL 89
4. Amar-ilu	Arba'il	ABL 179; 329; 643, 1178
5. Ašipa	Tušan	ABL 431, 506-510- NL 11, 35-36, 81; 91
6. Aššur-bel- dan(n)in	Halzi-adbar	ABL 245-247
7. Aššur-bel- taqqin	Gambulu	ABL 212?, 455?, 887?. 1005 + K 14600 (CT LIII, 64) ; 1057?
8. Aššur-bel- uṣur	Bit-Hamban	ABL 241-242; CT LIII, 460
9. Aššur-dur-panea	Šabirišu	ABL 251-252, 253 + K1179 + 1207 (CT LIII, 33) 499?, 741-742; 1325?
10. Aššur-padinu	Bit-Zamani	ABL 921 + K 5572 + K 7327 + K 15383 (CT LIII, 58); 922
11. Bel-iqbi	Šupite/Hamat	ABL 414; 953?; CT LIII, 10? 99?
12. Ilu-yada'	Dur-Kurigalzu	ABL 502-505, 608?, 883; 1011 + K 5578 (CT LIII 68), 1041?; CT LIII, 5
13. Mannu-ki- Ninua	Harhar	ABL 126-129; 625?, 1008?, 1454?
14. Marduk-šar- uṣur	Bit-Singibuti	ABL 174, 718; 772
15. Nabu-dammiq	Singara/Nimit- Istar	ABL 331, 813-814 ; CT LIII, 444?
16. Nabu-emuranni	Nikkur	ABL 165, 556?
17. Nabu-pašir	Harra	ABL 130-135; 457?. 642?; 701, 935?; 1223?; CT LIII, 208?
18. Nabu-ušalla	Kumme	ABL 206
19. Nergal-eṭir	Parsua	ABL 226-230, 637?
20. Nergal-uballiṭ	Arba'il	ABL 218
21. Qurdi-Aššur- lamur	Kašpuna/Šurri & Sidon	NL 12, 13, 69
22. Rimuttu	Apqu	ABL 910
23. Samnuha-bel- uṣur	Šadikani	ABL 888, 937 + K 5581 + K 7550 (CT LIII, 87); 938
24. Šamaš-bel- uṣur	Der	ABL 157, 537; 798-799 + 1332 + K 7478 (CT LIII, 89) 800-801; 10063?. 1314?-1315? 1348?-1349?
25. Šarru-emuranni	Babili/Nippur/ Sippar	ABL 313-315; 318; 320 + Sm 2060 (CT LIII, 100) 388; 600?, 759-760; 762-763
26. Ullalaya	North-western Province	NL 50-51; 53

Fig.15 NA Geographical names associated with *šakin-māti* or *hēl-pāhete** occurs with *hēl-pāhete* see Fig.8** occurs with unnamed *hēl-pāhete* see Fig.8*+ occurs with *šakin-māti* see Fig.13++ occurs with unnamed *šakin-māti* see Fig.13*

X occurs with both titles. See Fig.9

1.Abilakka	-	**
2.Akkad	Šamaš-danninanni	X
3.Alihu	Mušallim-Aššur	X
4.Alzi	Sibila	*
5.Amedi	Aplaya	+
	Marduk-bel-ušur	+
	Marduk-išmeanni	+
	Nashur-bel	+
	Tab-beli	+
	Lai'ti-ilu	*
	--	**
6.. omitted		--
7.Arba'il	Nabu-le'u	+
	Pan-Aššur-lamur	+
	Šil-Ištar	+
	Mesu	*
	--	**
8.Armiraliu	Tutu	*
9.Arpadda	Zazaya	+
	--	**
10.Arrapha	Aššur-balṭi-niše	+
	Aššur-šallimanni	+
	Bel-ilaya	+
	Hubaya	+
	Ištar-duri	+
	Nabu-bel-ušur	+
	Šamaš-kumua	+
	Aplaya	*
	--	**
11.Arzuhina	Nergal-uballiṭ	+
	Ninurta-ilaya	+
	Qurdi-Aššur	+
	Šamaš-bel-ušur	+
	Šulmu-bel-lamur	+

Fig.15 continued

11.Arzuhina	Nabu-kušur(r)anni	*
	--	**
13.Aššur	Adad-ah-iddina	+
	Adad-belukin	+
	Aplaya	+
	Gabbi-ana-Aššur	+
	Ili-issiya	+
	Pan-Aššur-lamur	+
	Šar/Nis-pati-beli	+
	Tab-šill-Ešarra	+
14.Aššur-iqiša		**
12.Asdudda	Šamaš-kašid-ayabi	+
	--	**
15.Babili	Amiyanu/Auyan	+
	Šamaš-danninanni	X
	Aqar-apla	*
	--	++
16.Balaṭ(u)		**
17.Barhalza	Aššur-dur-ušur	X
	Šarru-nuri	+
	Aššur-alik-pani	*
	Si'rapa'	*
	--	**
18.Birtu	--	**
20.Bit-kari	--	**
19.Bit-ešši	Kanunaya	X
21.Bit-Nayalani	--	**
22.Buluni	--	**
23.Bumnu/Abume	Aššur-mat-taqin	*
24.Danibani	--	**
25.Deri	Šulmu-bel-lašme	+
	--	**
26.Dimašqa	Ili-issiya	+
	--	**
27.Diqukina	--	**
28. omitted		
29.Dur-Nabu	--	**
30.Dur-Sin-ahhe-eriba	Gabbaru	+

Fig.15 continued

31. Dur-Sin-ahhe-eriba- ešši	Mušallim-Aššur	X
32. Dur-šarrukin	Nabu-bel-ušur	+
	Šarru-lu-dari	+
	Upaqa-ana-Arba'il	+
	Kišir-Assur	*
	--	**
33. omitted		
34. Gal'aza (Bit-Humri)	--	**
35. Gambulu (Uknu-river)	--	++
	--	++
36. Gargamiš	Ahe-ilaya	X
	Bel-emuranni	X
	--	**
37. Gurgum	--	**
38. Guzana	Bel-harran-bel-ušur	+
	Bur-Sagale	+
	Mannu-ki-mat-Aššur	+
	Mutakkil-Aššur	+
	Šamaš-(bel)-abuaya	+
	Šamaš-nuri	+
	()	+
	--	**
39. Halšu	Nabu-le'u	*
	--	**
40. Halzi-adbar	Šulmu-šarri	+
	--	**
41. Hamath	--	**
42. Harhar	--	**
43. Harran	Sagabbu	X
44. Hatarikka	Ga/ihlu	X
45. Haurina	--	**
46. Hindan	Belšunu	X
	Ahe-imme	*
	Sin-Šarru-ušur	*
47. omitted		
48. Isana	(Ana) Bel-taklak	+
	Metunu	+
	Šepa-Šamaš	+

Fig.15 continued

48. Isana	--	**
49. Kalhu	Aššur-bani	X
	Aššur-bel-usur	+
	Bel-dan(an)	+
	Bel-tarši-iluma	+
	Nergal-ilaya	+
	Šamaš-bel-ušur	+
	Šarru-duri	X
	Bel-ahuni	*
	Bel-našir	*
	Marduk-remanni	*
	Mušeziḫ-Ninurta	*
	--	**
50. Kar-Aššur (Til-kamri)	--	**
51. Kar-Aššur-ah-iddina	Bel-harran-šadua	+
	--	**
52. Kar-Ninurta (Kešim)	--	**
53. Kar-sin-ahḫe-eriba (Elenziaš)	--	**
54. Kar-Sipar	Ṭunnaun	*
55. Kar-šarrukin (Harhar)	--	**
56. Kar-šulmanu-ašared	Nabu-nadin-ahe	*
57. Kar (xxx)	--	**
58. Kašpuna	--	**
59. Kilizu	Adad-maušamir	+
	Aššur-išme'anni	+
	Kannunaya	+
	Laqipu	+
	Marduk-remanni	+
	Še'i-Aššur	+
	Ululaya	+
	--	**
60. Kirruri	Aššur-bel-ušur	+
	Lip/Pahhu/ar	+
	Mušeḫniš	+
	Ninurta-mukin-niše	+
	Šamaš-upahhir	+
	Šepa-šarri	+
	--	**

Fig.15 continued

61. Kullania	Adad-bel-ukin	+
	Man(nu) zarni	X
	--	**
62. Kulmera	Bel-iddina	*
63. Kurba'il	Bel-šarrani	+
	Marduk-šarru-ušur	+
	Ninurta-iddina	+
	--	**
64. Lahiru	Atar-ili	X
	Nergal-ilaya	*
	--	**
65. Ludbu	Andaria	*
66. Lullumu	--	++
67. Madaya	--	**
68. Magiddu	Issi-Adad-aninu	+
69. Maṣuate	Dananu	*
70. Marqasa (Gurgum)	Aššur-šarru-ušur	+
	Nabu-šarru-ušur	+
71. māṛ-šarri	Bel- duri	*
	Šulmu-bel-lamur	*
72. Mazamua	Aplaya	+
	Aššur-danninanni	+
	Bel-iqbi	+
	Bel-gata-sabat	+
	ili-mukin-ahi	+
	Ninurta-našir	+
	Šarru-emuranni	+
	--	**
73. Meliddu	--	**
74. Mus (xxx)	--	**
75. omitted		
76. Na'iri	--	++
77. Našibina	Iluma-le'u	+
	Ištar-duri	+
	Nergal-našir	+
	Ninurta-ilaya	+
	Šamaš(bel)-abuaya	+
	Šar/Niš-pati-beli	+
	Šepa-Ištar	+

Fig.15 continued

77.Našibina	Taklak-ana-bel	+
78.Nayalani	Ahe-eriba	*
	Bel-dan(an)	*
79.Nikur	--	**
80.Saberiti	Abulli-apil-pumuya	+
81.Nimit-Ištar	Taklak-ana-šarri	+
82.Ninua	Mahde	+
	Nabu-dini-epuš	+
	Nabu-kin-ušur	+
	Nergal-mudammīq	+
	Ninurta-kin-ušur	+
	Ahi-ilaya	X
	Nabu-šarru-ušur	*
	Sin-šarru-ušur	*
	--	**
83.Nuhubaya	--	++
84.Tamnunna	Adad-uballit	+
	Bel-šadua	+
	Nabu-dur-ušur	+
	--	**
85.Parsua(š)	Ilu-taklak	*
	--	++
86.Qarnina	--	**
78.Que	Aššur-danninanni	+
	Marduk-šarru-ušur	+
	Nabu-daninnanni	+
	Aššur-šarru-ušur	*
	--	**
	--	++
88.Rašappa	Bel-emuranni	+
	Nergal-eriš	+
	Ninurta-kibsi-ušur	+
	Sin-šallimanni	+
	Zer-ibni	+
	Abda'	*
	--	**
89.Talmusi	Nabu-šarru-ušur	+
	Ninurta-šezibani	+
	Šulmu-bel	+
	Milkiya	*

Fig.15 continued

89. Tolmusi	--	**
90. omitted		
91. Sam'al	Nabu-ahhe-eriš	+
	Bel-usati	*
92. Samarina	Nabu-kin-ušur	+
	Nabu-šar-ahhešu	X
	--	**
	--	++
93. Si'imme	Nabu-bel-ušur	+
	Ninurta-alik-pani	+
	--	**
94. SAP.PAP.ME	--	**
95. Šimir(ra)	Mannu-ki-ahhe	+
	Nadin-ahe	+
	--	**
96. Šupite	Mannu-ki-Adad	+
97. Šurri	Bel-harran-šadua	+
99. Raqmat	Mannu-ki-Adad	+
	Marduk-šadua	+
	Ninurta-ašared	+
	Qurdi-Aššur	+
98. Š(S)ahuppa	--	**
100. Šamaš-našir	--	**
101. Šattera	--	**
102. Šibaniba	Balatu	+
103. Šibhiniš	Bel-iqišanni	+
	(I)qisu	+
104. Tabal	--	**
105. omitted		
106. omitted		
107. Til-Barsip (Kar-šulmanu-asared)	Hananu	X
		**
108. Til-Garimmu	--	**
109. Tille	Bel-lu-dari	+
	Mannu-ki-Aššur-le'u	+
	Mušallim-Ninurta	+
	Nergal-ilaya	+
	--	**
110. Til-turi	--	**

Fig.15 continued

111. Tušhan	Adad-remanni	+
	Bel-iqbi	+
	Dur-Aššur ^{✓✓}	+
	Ištar-emuqaya [✓]	+
	Mukin-abuaya	+
	Šidqi-ilaya	+
	Sa-Aššur ^{✓✓} -dubbu	+
	--	**
112. Ušsi	--	**
113. Unqi (Kullania)	--	**
114. (Ma)zame(x)	Nurea	*
115. (xxx)TE.NI	--	**

Notes Chapter II

1. G.R.Driver, Letters from the First Babylonian Dynasty(Oxford 1924) No.33:14.
2. R.Frank, Altbabylonische Briefe II (Leiden 1966) No.54:6-13
- 3 Kibri-Dagan was the governor of the district of Terqa during the reign of Zimri-lim (see RLA V,587).
- 4 ARM II,91:r.2,7.
- 5 ARM III,59:11.
- 6 Among ^{letters} 33 he wrote to Zimri-lim (see J.R.Kupper, 'un Gouvernement Provincial dans le Royaume de Mari', RA XLI (1947) 149-183; Syria XLI (1964) 105-116.
7. ARM XIII,5:11.
8. HSS XIII,169:6,8,12; M.Stol, Studies in Old Babylonian History (Istanbul 1967) 93-94; E.Szlechter, Tablettes Juridiques de la I^{iere} dynastie de Babylon(Paris 1958) No.31:9; S.Langdon, 'A Babylonian contract for the rent of a garden', JRAS XXXIV (1934) 558 l.11; E.Ebeling, Altbabylonische Briefe der Louvre-Sammlung aus Larsa(Leipzig 1942) 117:12; 152:28; M.Schorr, Urkunden des Altbabylonischen Zivil-und Prozessrechts (Leipzig 1913) 134:12.
9. E.Weidner, Afo XVII (1954) 268; cf ARI I, 306-7.
10. Weidner, *ibid.* 268:7.
11. For MA provincial government and its sources see P.Machinist, Assur III (1982) 1-41.
12. see Fig.4:3,9
13. see Fig.4:8
14. see Fig.4:10,14
15. see Fig.5:2
16. see Fig.4:6
17. see Fig.4:1, 12
18. see Fig.4:15
19. KAJ 298:10-12; Weidner, Afo X (1935/36) 21,n.148 cf J.N.Postgate, BiOr XXXVII (1980) 69-70.
20. omitted
21. Tell-Billa 5:14; 7:4; 8:3; 18:2; 25:6; 27:12; 30:3.
22. omitted
23. see ⁷19 above and P.Machinist, Assur III (1982) 4; M.J.Aynard et J.M.Durand, 'Documents d'Epoque Medio-Assyrienne', Assur IV (1980) 8:5,12; 9:8, P.40.
24. P.Machinist, *loc.cit.*,P.4.
25. E.Weidner, *loc.cit.*,21,n.148.
26. H.Freydank, VS XXI (1982) 21:V,1-32.
27. E.Weidner, *loc.cit.*14 cf J.N.Postgate, *loc.cit.*69-70.

- P.Machinist, loc.cit.20-21.
28. KAJ 189:1-4 = MAOG VII,46; E.Weidner, Afo X (1935/36) 14.
 29. KAJ 212:4-7 = MAOG VII,38 = Weidner, *ibid.*
 30. KAJ 198:1-6 = MOAG VII,43; Weidner, *ibid.*
 31. KAJ 191:1-4 = MAOG VII,43, Weidner, *ibid.*
 32. KAJ 192:1-2 = MAOG VII,33; Weidner *ibid.*
 33. KAJ 284:1-5 = MAOG VII,38; Weidner *ibid.*
 34. see n.30 above
 35. KAJ 187:1-6 = MAOG VII,35; Weidner *ibid.* See UHTNM,92.
 36. KAJ 113:r.18-38; A.H.Fine, HUCA XXIV (1952/3) 230-231; J.Lewy, HUCA XXVII (1956/7) 42; Weidner, *op.cit.*21; UHTNM 92,
 37. KAJ 109:1-23; Fine, *ibid.*231; C.Saporetti, Ep. 82;88 Ep.82; 88 cf J.Finkelstein, JCS VII (1953) 129,152; P. Machinist, *op.cit.*21; UHTNM 65, n.287.
 38. KAJ 121; Fine, *ibid.*233, P.Machinist, *ibid.*21; UHTNM 91.
 39. cf. A.H.Fine, HUCA XXIV(1952/3) 187-237;XXV (1954) 107-168; P. Machinist, Assur III/2(1983) 1-41
 40. KAJ 106:1-9; 103:1-18; Fine *ibid.*241.
 41. Ep.117.
 42. KAJ 133:1-21; Fine, *ibid.*233,n.15; 241.
 43. T.Baqir, Iraq , Suppl.(1944)^{p1.18}, right column; NWL 15; PKB 304; cf MDP II, 89:iii,6; P.Garelli,V.Nikiprowetzky, Le Proche-Orient asiatique.Les empires Mesopotamiens (Paris 1974) 50-51;175-178.
 44. BBSt 6:ii,9; 8:ii,4,23; 9:Top 21,iv b,5; 25:34; 28:r.24; 29:ii (18); 36:vi,26; MDP VI, 35:iii,23; Hinke, Kudurru v,15. See PKB 303-304; JESHO VI (1963) 237,n.2.
 45. BBSt. 25:r.34; 9:ivb,5, Top 21 cf 29:ii,17-18.
 46. BBSt 8:iii,9, Top 7,12; 11:ii,3; BE I/2, 149:ii,12; F.Thureau-Dangin, RA XVI (1919) 125:ii,24; MDP II, 89:iii,6; VI 35:iv,1; CT XXXVI 13:12; F.Raschid, Sumer XXXII (1976)94:20, see PKB 303.
 47. BBSt 5:i,27-34 + ii,1-3; PKB 303.
 48. ABC 72,Chron.1:i,16-18; PKB 60-61; 303,n.303; 235.
 49. BBSt. 36:vi,24-26, see PKB 192,n.1177; 205,n.1271.
 50. F.Thureau-Dangin, *loc.cit.*126:iv,17; PKB 202; 205,n.1269.

51. ABC 182, Chron.24:r.7-8; Synchron.History, iii, 6-9; See also J.N.Brinkman, JCS XVI (1962) 97, n.26.
52. MDP X, 93:viii, 9-10 ; PKB 304.
53. MDP VI, 44:i, 9-10, PKB 304.
54. T.Baqir, Iraq, Supplement 1944, Pl.18
55. See PKB 297, n.1941; JESHO VI (1962) 234, n.1. Further discussion p.236.
56. BBSt. 4:i, 13-14.
57. F.Raschid, *ibid.* 100:17.
58. BBSt 7:i, 13-14. He was the father of a surveyor named on Hinke, Kudurru :iii, 14; BBSt 7:i, 3 (PKB 94, n.490).
59. BBSt 27:B.E.2 cf Layard 53:31.
60. BBSt 4:ii, 8.
61. BBSt 5:ii, 36-38.
62. E.Weidner, Afo XXI (1966) 35 (Istanbul Mus.No. Assur 2599).
63. D.J.Wiseman, Iraq XIII (1951) 106ff. These texts are republished by J.N.Postgate in GPA.
64. see Pp. 43 - 54
65. see Fig.8, 8*.
66. ^{LU}bētpāhete of Dilmun. (H.San Nicolò & A.Ungnad, Neubabylonische Rechts-und Verwaltungsurkunden, Übersetzt und erläutert. (Leipzig 1935) No. 641. Cf Nos. 252, 854. See also E.Ebeling, Neubabylonische Briefe (München 1949) 76:3; Neubabylonische Briefe aus Uruk (Berlin 1930-4) 9:30; 254:19, 23, 27, 286:9, and R.C. Thompson, Late Babylonian Letters (London 1909) 78:10; J.A. Delauney, Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Arts (Paris 1977) 110:3, 6, 9; 112:3; ^{LU}bēl-pāhete ša esagil (YOS 3, 9:29). ^{LU}pāhutu ebir nāri (Ungnad, *ibid.* No.327) ^Igubaru bēl-pāhete babilī u ebir nāri (BIN 2, 114:15; cf YOS 7, 160:12). For Gubaru/Gobryas the provincial governor of Babylon, see A.T.Clay, 'A New King of Babylon', JAOS XLI (1921) 313, see also pp.466-467; A.Pohl, Review of H.San Nicolò, Beiträge zu einer Prosographie Neubabylonsicher Beamten der Zivil-und Tempelverwaltung (München 1941) Or XII (1943) 126; ; D.J.Wiseman, Note on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel (London 1965); H.M.Kummel,

- Familie, Beruf und Amt im Spätbabylonischen Uruk (Berlin 1979) 45. For studies of the LB administrative organization see O. Leuze, Die Satrapieneinteilung in Syrien und im Zweistromland von 520-320 v. Chr. (Hildesheim 1972); A. F. Rainey, 'The Satrapy 'Beyond the River'', Australian Institute for Biblical Archaeology I (1969) 51-78; J. N. Strassmeier, Inschriften von Cambyses, König von Babylon 529-521 v. Chr. (Leipzig 1890); Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon (538-529 v. Chr.) (Leipzig 1890).
67. M. W. Stolper, Management and Politics in the Later Achaemenide Babylonia I (Michigan 1973) 64, 81, n.9; H. W. F. Saggs, 'Two Administrative Officials at Erech in the 6th century B.C.', SumerXV (1959) 29-38; J. Augapfel, Babylonische Rechtsurkunden aus der Regierungszeit Artaxerxes I und Dareius II (Wien 1915), 11:2; 75:3; H. G. Stigers, 'Neo- and Late Babylonian Business Documents from the John Frederick Lewis Collection', JCS XXVIII (1976) 3-59
68. MSL V, 17:125 cf IX, 151; 65c. see p. 14
69. CT XI, 30:14-15.
70. see p. 14 f
71. Otherwise *pīhatu* as to be interpreted as 'responsibility', see p. 14 f
72. $\text{LÚ}^{\text{NAM}} \text{MES}^{\text{ABL}}$ 409:15; LÚ^{NAM} CT XXII, 29:15; 76:3 $\text{LÚ}^{\text{NAM-u-ti}}$ Sg. II. I 176:35; 138:21; 144:21; Asarh. 107:13. Syllabically $\text{LÚ}^{\text{pa-ha-ti}}$ (Sg. II. II 77:178)
73. $\text{LÚ}^{\text{pi-ha-tu}_4}$ (TCL XII, 30:15; CT XXII 78:18, 31); $\text{LÚ}^{\text{pa-hat}}$ (CT XLIX, 156:12)
74. see p. 14
75. see n. 73 above
76. The common phrase is $\text{LÚ}^{\text{sūt-rēšīya}}$ $\text{LÚ}^{\text{bēl-pāhete}}$ elīšunu āškun For the interpretation 'eunuch' see NWL 13; P. Garelli, RA LXVIII (1974) 133-136 cf PKB 30; A. L. Oppenheim, JANES V (1973) 325-334
77. see pp. 43 - 53
78. ND 437 = GPA 185:1-2
79. ND 444 = GPA 184:1-2

80. see Fig.12:4;13:22;116
81. ABL 920:16-17, see discussion on p. cf *ana* ^{LU}EN.NAM ^vsa
^{URU}4-ha LUGAL luppitsu (ABL 1059:11-12 +r.1) cf ABL 998:5-6
82. ABL 846:18-19, see p. cf ABL 998:r.5-6
83. Abp.II, 14:ii,15; 162:60.
- 848 Sg.II.II 77:177-179 = Sg.II.I,132 cf *ibid.*Pl.37:iii,37-45
 = Sg.II.I,144-146 AB 16: Lie,Sg.II 80:14-15.cf Ashurbanipal banquet
 at Nineveh (Abp.II 16,v:66
85. D.= Sg.II.I,144-146 AB 16: Lie,Sg.II 80:14-15.cf Ashurbanipal banquet
 at Nineveh (Abp.II 16,v:66
86. Senn.61:iii,60 cf 76:104-106; Abp.II 60:vii,6-8
87. Sg.II.II P.49,12 = Sg.II.I,196 = ADD 766 + Bezold, Cat.1539.
 For photo see *Iraq* XV (1953) Pl.18,No.4. In TCAE 70, J.N.Post-
 gate suggests that this *bēl-pāhete* was the provincial-governor
 of Nineveh, beacuse at this time Nineveh was not the capital.
 Cf that of the ^{LU}EN.NAM ^vsa ^{URU}si'me(NARGD 27:28)
88. ABL 1052:6. The scribe of the country (^{LU}A.BA KUR) is similar-
 ly requested to speak to the provincial-governor:TA ^{LU}EN.NAM
bēli lidbub (ABL 221:r.11-12).
89. ABL 220 see also p.122.
90. AHW 813; FNALD 3.7.2; 3.8.2
91. ADD 152:1-8 +E.1-2 = ARU 653
92. ADD 854; 853
93. Although eight lines are identical, the texts are written by
 different scribes. Differences in orthography are not signi-
 ficant except for ADD 854:10,a,KUR = ADD 853:i,10-11,a', URU
 cf 11;12 a-tar-a-a ^{LU}NAM KUR (XX)=i,14 it-ri-ia ^{LU}EN.NAM
 For the restoration of ADD 854:14 cf ADD 942:r.5
94. This may be confirmed by the erasing of three PN in Col.iv
95. see ns.89-90 above
96. ABL 83C:1; 898:2; 1093:7,r.6,13; ND 413 = GPA 196:1,4,9
 414 = GPA 198:1; 420 = GPA 193:1; 421 = GPA 191:1;
 424 = GPA 194:1; 438 = GPA 192:1; 466 = GPA 230:1;
 490 = GPA 197:1; CT 1.111, 285:1,2,r.5.

97. ND 418 = GPA 190;1.
98. ABL 920:7-18+r.1-2=SKTII,19. see A.L.Oppenheim, JAOS LXI (1941) 264.
ina MI LUGAL (ina šilli (ša) šarri), see A.L.Oppenheim, BASOR
 CVII (1947) 7-11; *ibid.* 264.n.67.
 l.r.1 For *LU* read *lid* cf. Oppenheim.loc.cit.,264,n.68.
 l.r.2 *libbi ṭāba šakānu* idiomatically 'to treat somebody
 with distinction', Oppenheim, loc.cit.,264.
99. Oppenheim, BASOR ^{*ibid.*} L.,9,10.
100. GPA 194 ... For a similar distribution of
 captive people ND 444 = GPA 184.
101. ABL 140:6-15 +r.1-6.
102. ABL 1093. Another broken report addressed to the *kēl-pāhete*
 comes from Šamaš-aha-ušur (ABL 830) cf ND 438 = GPA 192
 ... ; ND 466 = GPA 230.
103. *za* should be read *da*, also in l.2 *lissa 'u= sa 'uSt* 'to hurry'
 (AHw 1205bII) see K.Deller, Or XXXI (1962) 350; XXXIV (1965) 261.
LU dayālu 'scout, informer' references in CAD D 27-28.
 AOMA 212.
104. ABL 771:r.6-8; MDDNA 116 and Append. shows that there was such
 10 a deportation from the city Adarihti during the reign of
 Tiglath-pikser III.
105. For l.r.2-122 cf VTE 84,n.145 (*issisū..tazzazā*) *itti/issi X*
uzzuzū, 'to stand...with' i.e. 'aid', not necessarily imply
 physical proximity cf *ide*^{II}..uzzuzu.
106. ABL 1047:r.5-8. cf N.R.Woodington, A Grammar of the Neo-Babylonian
Letters from the Kouyunjik Collection (Yale 1982) 150
107. ABL 129:r.9-11. cf K.Deller, Or. XXXV, 310
108. VTE 53:318-328, see p. 40
109. For Zakutu (Naqi'a) see H.Lewy, 'Nitokris-Naqi'a', JNES XI
 (1952) 271-284. cf J.Nougayrol, Syria XXXIII (1956) 156-160
 ABL 1039:5-6 see p. 40 ,AJSL XXIX,9-10:26-28.
110. cf FNALD 18,2.1 3b, . This formula was
 used earlier in the MB period mainly in Kudurru,
111. ADD 77:7 = ARU 133; 181:12 = ARU 460; 199:10 = ARU 478; 230:12=

- ARU 60; 246:r.2 = ARU 82; 471:r.2 = ARU 167; 495:6 = ARU 617;
 506:E.2 = ARU 612; ND 206 = GPA 27:16 ; 475=
 GPA 26:16 ; 496 = GPA 17:15 ;
 FNALD 1:15 (IM 56869).
112. ADD 1195:19.
113. ADD 394:r.7 = ARU 169; 554:r.8 = ARU 599; ND 299 = GPA 23:21
 ; 251 = GPA 6:16 ; 401+402 =
 GPA 14 :B.E.15 ; 480 = GPA 57:r.8
 801 = GPA 62:r.5 ; FNALD 9:23 (ND 3426 = IM 57050).
114. ADD 152:1-8 +B.E.1-2 see p101-102
 ADD 592:r.4 = ARU 184.
 ADD 448:r.8 = ARU 443.
115. ADD 37:r.4 = ARU 243; 587:r.3 = ARU 583.
116. TCAE 131-134.
117. See also *rab-ālāni* inpp.229 - 231
118. GPA 196 = TCAE 368.
119. GPA pp.195 -196.
120. cf.n.139; ND 2648 = TCAE 385-387 (Iraq XXVII(1965) 121-123.
121. see Fig.13:108.2.
122. ND 462 :4-6 = GPA 195.
123. ND 2495:4-6 = TCAE 381-383 (Iraq XXVIII (1966) 183-185).
124. CT LIII,333:1,19-21 cf 47:4-7.
125. ABL 898:7-8 cf ND 414 = GPA 198.
126. ABL 532:4-6, 10-14 = TCAE 280.n.10; 214-215 cf ABL 43 = TCAE
 247-248. = LAS 309. cf A.R.Millard , Afo XXIV(1973)72.
127. cf ADD 1036:ii,26-27 see p.242
128. TCAE 14,6.12; 212-213.
129. TCAE 15,6.13.
130. TCAE 16.
131. TCAE 8-9; No.4; 27 he is the writer of a similar subject see

132. TCAE 8-9.
ABL 71, [√]*sullam pithalli* 'race horse', AHW 1267a cf TCAE 10.n.
K.Deller, Or. XXXV (1966) 193.
see TCAE 8, No.4 cf. 18 *urati pithalli ša bēl-pāhete*
(E.Weidner, Tell-Halaf, No.38:10-11 (AFO VI)).
133. ABL 973:7-16 see TCAE 9, No.27.
134. GPA 127 . cf ND 452 = GPA 130.
135. GPA 128 (NLK). These horses were delivered as
maddattu see ND 2765 = TCAE 117:33-46; ND 2655 = TCAE 115:
6-8; ABL 242:15-16 = TCAE 268. For other horses classified
as *nāmurtu* see ND 2727 = TCAE 149:14-15; pp.393-394; ND
2788 = TCAE 397-399; ABL 241:5,14 = TCAE 125-126.
136. CT LIII, 970:6-9. For *dullu* see TCAE 226 ff.
137. Once written *mardū* in ABL 179. Other individual with the
same name, ADD 80:r.4 = ARU 640; 256:10 = ARU 536.
138. Since the crown-prince is mentioned in 12.10,16, and also
because ADD 447 (see p. 117) is dated to the last year
of Sennacherib (i.e. 681 BC), this document was probably ad-
dressed to Esarhaddon, and ABL 179 may also have been.
The restoration of 'his field and orchards' in 1.8[4.ŠA
GIS[√]ŠAR[√]MES[√]]-su is probable because of the occurrence of the
same phrase in 1.r.3. It is worth noting also that in 1.5
kil could be read *ku?* (i.e. *e-ku?-ti*) 'debility, feebleness'
(CAD E 73b); and 1.15 for *šal* read *rak* (i.e. *ke-rak*, **karû*)
'I am dazzled' (K.Deller, Or. XXXIV (1965) 37; AHW 452a).
139. i.e. what has been taken from him illegally by the *bēl-pāhete*
of Barhalza.
140. E^I *mardi* here 'property of Mardi' rather than GN Bit-Mardi
(MVAG II 232; AJSL XXII, 222 cf RCAE III, 76n.1.10).
141. cf ABL 329.
142. RCAE III, 76.n.b.
143. i) The pronoun *attā* 'you' is never used for the interrogative
atā 'why'. ii) Amar-ilu is not mentioned in any other text. iii)
In.r.4 *nītamar* is 1.Pers.masc.Pl. indicates Amar-ilu and the

bēlpāhete is the subject since they are the only two persons concerned. iv). It could be that the copula *ū* was omitted.

144. ARU 61.

145. cf. ND 2605 (B.Parker, *Iraq* XXIII (1961) 36-37; ADD 301:1-2 = ARU 535. see p. 227

146. *an* should be read *hal*.

147. 11. 1-15. For further discussion see p. 226. The dating of this text should be in the twenty-first year of Sennacherib, since Nabu-ahhe-eriš was the eponym of that year.

148. ADD 507:4-8 = ARU 614. This individual occurs as a witness in ADD 383:r.8 = ARU 32 (674 BC); ADD 256:r.10 = ARU 536 (676 BC).

149. 1 ^{NA}4. [✓]KIŠIB I. [✓]d_U. GUR. DINGIR _{aya} [✓]LÚ[✓] EN. NAM
 2 [✓]sa ^{KUR}lahiri
 3 ^{NA}4 [✓]KIŠIB I. [✓]d_{XXX.XX}. PAB [✓]LÚ[✓] 2-[✓]u ditto
 4 ditto ^Imurasu [✓]LÚ[✓] 3-[✓]su ditto
 5 ditto ^Izabiyu [✓]LÚ[✓] mukil. PA^{MES} ditto
 6 PAP 4 [✓]LÚ^{MES} -e EN URU taddāni
 7 [✓]URU[✓] SE ^Ibahaya adi gimirtišu
 8 É. 5. ME A. [✓]SA^{MES} adu [✓]SE[✓] NUMUN -[✓]su arši
 9 -12 (location of the village)
 13 [✓]uppišma ^Iatar-DINGIR [✓]LÚ[✓] SAG
 14 [✓]sa DUMU LUGAL[✓] [✓]URU[✓] KA. DINGIR
 15 [✓]sa pān [✓]LÚ^{MES} -e anmūti
 16 TA libbi 14 mana KU. BABBAR
 17 SUM^{an}
 ARU 116.

1 50. 11. 5-7 cf TCAE 176.

151. NARGD Nos. 27, 28, pp. 58-59.

152. ABL 421:6-20 +r.1-9 = LAS 114.

153. ML 95:4-6. H.W.F. Saggs, *Iraq* XXVII (1966) 191.

154. 12. 8-15 +r.1-16. In l.r.8 *ihassûnâsi* possibly from **hesû* rather than **hasu* (RCAE III, 155) cf Alw 342a, CAD H 177b, cf ABL 421:14 (A.L. Oppenheim, *JAOS* LXI, 266.n.86).

155. ABL 190 cf TCAE 136f.
 cf *ana hit̄ini lu la isakkan* (ABL 248:r.6; 791:r.6-7) and
ana hit̄iya bēli isakkana (BE 17,11:29).
^{LÚ}*marhasāya* = ^{LÚ}*marqasāya* (NAT 239-240).
^{LÚ}*NAM-u-tu* + *eppesu* = 'exercise governorship, be governor'
 (CAD E 215a, 219a) cf ^{LÚ}*GAR-mu-tu* + *eppesu* (ABL 533:r.7-8).
 11.r.7-8 could be restored *E āki* ^{LÚ}*EN.NAM* ^{sa} *URU* ^{BA}*D.XX* ^{Du}
etapaš.
156. ABL 989 :2-3.
157. ABL 191;4-11.
158. For the restoration of 1.r.1 cf r.4-5, *an* = *ilu* (r.9) should
 be read *el*; and *ma*(r.12) as *la* . r.L.H.E. the verb should
 be *a/eti'di* ; r.22 (*ya*)*muttu* cf CAD I,J 322. cf TCAE 227f
159. ND 420 = GPA 193.
160. GPA p.192.
161. RLA IV,64.
162. ABL 102:4-12 cf K.Deller and S.Parpola, RA CX (1966) 59-60.
163. see Fig.12:16; p.177 .For Opes as ferry place see Senn.73:61-62
164. see ABL 626:r.1-8; 845:16.
165. GPA 191 .
166. ABL 339:7-18 +r.1-14 = LAS 293 1.r.2 is restored according
 to CAD N.1 183a. See LAS II 300
167. ABL 464:21-23 = TCAE 277-278; 215 n.1.
168. TCAE 278 .
169. GPA 199 .
170. Urzana is known to be the ruler of Muṣaṣir. He was defeated
 by Sargon II in 714 BC. (Sg.II.I.123,126,128 cf Sg.II,8:
 309,346,350,403). Muṣaṣir was then annexed into the NA
 provincial framework and placed under the authority of the
nāgir-ekalli official (Sg.II.II 36: 3-4; Sg.II.I,26:137-138)
 See p.127 f. 238 and HA 264-266; T.G.Pinches, JRAS XX (1913) 602-604
171. ABL 409:9-12, see p.128 In 1.13, the scribe omitted the pl.
 pronoun (*u*). See A.L.Oppenheim, JAOS LXI (1941) 267; cf ABL 381

172. see n.170 above and p. 127 f; 238
173. see also p. 127 f and PN marked X on Fig.8, p.144
174. ABL 49:r.14-17 = LAS 312 see A.L.Oppenheim, op.cit. 258 n.37, 266; von Soden, ZA XLI (1933) 114.
175. ABL 43:11-16 = LAS 309 = TCAE 247-248; 214 See also K.Deller, Or XXXV (1966) 206;^{cf} A.R.Millard, Afo XXIV (1973), 72; A.L.Oppenheim. loc.cit. 266 n.86. Note that Arpadda is omitted in TCAE 247,1.16.
- 1 76. ABL 615.
177. TCAE 321-322; 151.
178. see Fig.3, p.113
179. Sg.II.8:333.
- 1 80. Lie.Sg.II 56:382, cf Sg.II.II,23:15,Sg.II.I 52:307
181. Lie Sg.II 74:2
182. Senn. 50:20-22
183. Esarh. 46-47:40-64 = III R 15,ii:1-20, cf ABC 82,Chron.1,iii:39
184. Esarh. 54-55:32-45 = I R 46,iv:19-37
185. VTE.
186. Abp. II, 166:11 cf R.C.Thompson, Iraq VII(1940) 101
- 1 87. Apb.II, 158:11-14 (KK 228+2675)
188. Abp.II, 160:25-30 (KK 228+2675)

- 1 89. A person named Aššur-rešua seems to have been deposed and is^{after} likely to be identical with the person discussed here. If so^{providing} (all this¹³² intelligence service (pp.125-132) he wrote to the deputy (^{LU}šamû) of either the king or the *nāgir-ekalli*, seeking an application for re-appointment, presumably somewhere either in Urartu or Assyria (ABL 382, see p.237 f). A person with this name holding the position of ^{LU}SAG ^{LU}DUB.SAR ša ^{MI}E.GAL occurs once among other high-ranking officials as a witness to a sale of property (ADD 1141:45 = ARU 111).
190. ABL 101; 145; 1979-80; 380-381; 490-491-
191. ABL 144; 146; 148; 197-198; 380;381; 491-
192. ABL 490;491; 619 TCL 9, 67.
193. ABL 123.
194. ABL 197-198; 1079.
195. i) ABL 488:4 Ṭab-šar-Aššur, the writer was the *aharakkurabû* of Sargon (Sg.II.8:427). He was the eponym for the year 717 BC (RLA II,426:1; 456b. see ADD 391:18-19 = ARU 394; 695:r.6). He also wrote ABL 100-107; 173; 180;433; 452; 485-489(1035; 1049); 1458; CT LIII 82;(144); 628; see K 19147. ii) ABL 123:11; 619:6. Gabbu-ana-Aššur, the writer, was the *nāgir-ekalli* of Kurba'îl and wrote ABL 121-125(579;590;610). iii) Aššur-bēlī-da'in, the governor of Halzi-adbar, wrote ABL 245-247.

196. ABL 381. See A.L.Oppenheim. op.cit., 268.n.99, 1.6 *i-na* *nāgē* cf *i-na* *pānišu* ABL 381. 1.8 *etele*=*elu* (GAG44) cf ABL 390:r.7; 311:15; *itiši* NA**našu* cf. *ina* *pūhi* *itiši* (FNALD p.2).
197. ABL 444
In the two further reports from Aššur-rešua, Qaqqadanu is entitled *LU turtānu*. The first also concerns the departure of the Urartean king from Turušpa to Elizzada, while Qaqqadanu, his *turtānu*, marched to Uesi : *LU KUR TILLA-aya TA URU turušpa ittusi ana URU elizzad itallak*. *I SAG.DU-aru LU turtānušu ina SA URU uesi itallak* (ABL 492:5-9). The second confirms the capture of Qaqqadanu: *I SAG.DU-aru LU turtānušu šabit* (ABL 197:r.1-2, see pp.). It is likely that Aššur-rešua misused the title *LU EN.NAM* (in ABL 444:7) as he did elsewhere (in ABL 409:10 and n.197 above).
198. see J.N.Postgate, *AnSt* XXX (198) 73.
199. see p.124; 127 f .
200. see n.170 above.
201. ABL 409:4-114, see p.127; 238.
202. While another report from Arad-Sin to Sargon indicates that the *bēl-pāhetē* of Uesi was in communication with Urzana of Mušašir (*LU DUMU-šipri ša LU EN.NAM ša URU uesi UGU I ur (za)ni ittal(ka)*); ABL 112:14-18 cf T.G.Pinches, *JRAS* XX (1913) 608-611.
203. See ns. 170; 200 above.
204. T.G.Pinches, *ibid.* 602. For figure see HA 265, see also ABL 112:14-18, n.202 above.
205. Nabu-le'u. A person with this name occurs in the same letter r.E.26 and is described as *LU GAL É ša MI ahat-abiša*, daughter of Sargon. See also ns. 163; 236(I) and ABL 123, J.N. Postgate, *Iraq* XXXV (1973) 31, n.19.
206. ABL 197; *un* (1.r.3) as *kal* (collated); *PAP* (1.r.10) as *TIL* (collated).

207. ABL 198:16-17; A.L.Oppenheim, JAOS, loc.cit.264,n.64
208. ABL 1079:8-9.
209. see n.192 above especially TCL 9, 67.
210. ABL 205 = VR 45,4:1.r.3 *UGU* collated should read *K4. birtti* cf Oppenheim, loc. cit.261, cf ABL 6:15; 49:r.12; 132:14,r.15; 153:r.5; 221:r.18; 434:4; 927:r.3; 1042:r.8; 1142:r.3; Iraq XXV (1963) 79, No.70:7; KAV 13:14.
211. see K.Deller, Or.XXXV (1966) 317; *si*(1.5) is to be read *i-a* (collated) cf ABL 778:12.
212. Eponym for the year 705 BC. See Fig.13:84; 12:9.
213. see pp 125f; 154f; cf n.241(1).
214. From **eluse* see AHW 141b cf ABL 444:17, for *sadra* see Sg.II.8:286.
215. ABL 424,
216. ND 2608:12-18; H.W.F.Saggs, Iraq XX (1958) 198-199.
217. ABL 506.
218. cf ABL 646:12. M.Dietrich, Die Aramäer Südbabyloniens in der Sargonidenzeit (1970) 85f
219. ABL 543:r.2-7, 1.r.7. It is to be expected that the verb would be 2nd.m.sg.present as are the other verbs in this letter. cf ABL 705:r.15-16.
220. see ND 2717:L.H.E.1; H.W.F.Saggs, Iraq XVII (1955) 26, where the *bēl-pāhete* of Arrapha is concerned.
221. The *šakū* of Uruk (K433:26) and the author of ABL 266; 272; 294; 456; 751-754; 1028 and the recipient of letters from Ashurbanipal (ABL 273; 517;945).
222. ABL 754:3-9 + K 13128. cf M.Dietrich, *ibid.* 115f.
223. ABL 1106:11-15 + r.8-10 ; cf M.Dietrich, *ibid.* 92f; 178f. Oppenheim, JAOS LXI 259
224. ABL 1241: 8-11 + K 5448B. M.Dietrich. *ibid.* 144 f cf Oppenheim, *ibid.* 270
225. GPA 185. cf TCAE 231
226. H.W.F.Saggs, Iraq XXVIII (1966) 183 = 2462, TCAE 381-382, see also Saggs, Iraq XXV (1963) 148.
227. MA PN see C.Saporetti, OMA I,II and for the dating see Ep.
228. *Āššur* -bel-ilani, the *bēl-pāhete* of *Āššur* held two other

offices: i) *šakin-māti* : *I. d aššur-EN.DJNGI^{MEŠ} GAR.KUR A*
it^{tab} [šj] dēn-aššur GAR.KUR; Stele 88:1-4; and ii) *LU qēpu*
ša šarri (KAJ 116:r.9-10). His name only appears as an
 eponym (Ep.115-116) see p.151 f.

229. Eru-apla-ušur was also the *šakin-māti* of the same GN, i.e.
šalam I. d eru-A. PAB LU SUKKAL GAL-e GAR-KUR KUR^{halahhi}, Stele
 128:1-3, see p.90;154.

2 30. This provincial governor is the only one not given a location.

231. His name, without any identification used as *limmu*, see Ep.122.

232. MB PN and dating followed by J. A. Brinkman, PKB.

233. He was also the scribe of this kudurru.

234. Another form of the name A-qar-A-a occurs in ABL 181:14,
 1259:2, presenting a possible reading of it as Aqar-apla.
 Against Frame's argument may be cited: 1) A similar name
 occurs in other NA texts, despite his claim that it does not.
 They are worth noting:

1.1 Aqar-apla appears to have been in a responsible position
 since he is asked to appoint the writer of the letter
 as *LU^{šaknu}* (ABL 912:1)

1.2 Aqar-apla is joint writer of religious reports to
 Esarhaddon with:

1.2.1. AMAR.UD.MJ.AŠ and Naširu (ABL 181:2)

1.2.2. AMAR.UD.MJ.PAP? Naširu, Tabnis (X), AMAR.UD.MJ.DU
 Banea, (X), (K 11437:L.H.E.2 = AGS 108)

1.2.3. AMAR.UD.MJ.URU₃, Naširu, EN.KI^(lim), (Tabni?),
 (Bel-i)qiša, (X) (K 11477:L.H.E.2 = AGS 98)

1.3. The writer of a letter to Ashurbanipal (ABL 1259:2)

1.4. Is listed as *LU^{HAL} (bārû)* 'Haruspex' with Naširu who
 is given as *LU^{MAS.MAS(w)āšipu/mašmašu}* 'exorcist' among
 other individuals in ADD 851, i:10;ii,1 (cf ABL 1030:3)

It is likely that Aqar-apla, the *bēl-pāhete* of BM 118973 is
 the individual to whom all the above apply.

Frame (loc.cit. pp.164-165) suggests dating BM 118973
 either to the beginning of the reign of Esarhaddon or to the
 middle or the end of the reign of Šamaš-šumu-ukin, parti-
 cularly 656-653 BC. Aqar-apla does not appear in the Assyrian

Eponym-lists. In fact, there is a similar case where Ubaru, the ^{LU}GAR.KUR.TIN.TIR^{KI} appears in a NB economic text as a *limmu* (E.Weidner, Afo XIII (1939/41) 52:26 but was also excluded from the NA *limmu*-lists. However, Frame (p.166) offers only inconclusive explanations as to why the *limmu* method of dating was occasionally practiced on Babylonia. Aqar-apla may have been omitted from the NA eponym-lists regardless of who had granted him the privilege of being a *limmu*, possibly because he had sided with Šamaš-šumu-ukin during the civil war. J.NBrinkman, JCS XXXV(1983)61-62

235. Aššur-bani, the Eponym for 713 BC (RLA II,426,442) appears as the provincial-governor (^{LU}bēl-pāhete) of Kalhu in ADD 676 :3 (dated 711 BC) which confirms his office there. He was the writer of letters ABL 231-237, 420 and ND 1113 (= GPA 241) to Sargon. (cf ND 491:8 = GPA,100;8; ND 252(i) = GPA,148:3; K 3242 = K 6209 + 6426 + 6502 +7487 +9500 + 9532 + 10786). This indicates that he held the ^{LU}bēl-pāhete-office at Kalhu for at least three successive years.
236. *limmu* ša arki I. ITI^{ITI} kanunāya (ADD 499:r.8, see E.Weidner, Afo XVI (1952/53) 309 and n.11.
- 2 37. Assuming that he is the same individual as the ^{LU}bēl-pāhete in ADD 853:ii,1 and the provincial-governor (^{LU}šakin-māti) of Barhalza and eponym of ADD 70:B.E.1, 404:E.2 = ARU 10:61.
238. X indicates that the professional title only is given without any Personal Name.
- 2 39. ^{IR}(ardu) here means 'subordinate official'. It indicates the superior position of the provincial-governor (^{bēl-pāhete}) since these officials are well known from other sources to have had an important role within the administrative sector. One exception is ^ISU^{US}.^{SES} ^{MF}S ^{LU} ^{IR} ^{LU}UGU ^E ^{sa} ^{LU}FN.NAM ^{sa} ^{IR}kalhi (ND 253 = GPA 3:2-3) who was a real slave. For discussion see GPA, pp.30-31).
240. As referred to in K.official lists (K 4395:vi,30). See R.Henshaw, JAOS LXXXVIII (1968) 461; J.N.Postgate, AnSt XXX (1980) 67.

241. See R.Borger, Afo XXIII (19)9-10 who proposes the reading $\check{s}akin-m\bar{a}ti$, and is followed by H.Tadmor, IraqXXX (1973) 146; then recently K.Kessler, ZA LXIX(1979)217; Postgate, ibid. .69-70. Cf RCAE III, 131n.9. The construct $\check{s}a-k\bar{i}n$ +GN possibly represents syllabic form (see Postgate, ibid., 70).
242. See PN $\check{s}a-k\bar{i}n-KUR.KUR$ ^{URU} $\check{i}isani$ (Stele 67:2-7); GAR.KUR.KUR (MDP II, 89:iii,5); ^{LU}GAR.KUR ^{MES}(Abr.II,40:iv,104) cf. NA 4 $\check{s}ak-mu-te$ (ND 2386:iii,6, TCAE, 271-2). See Borger, loc. cit. 9-10 and ABZ, No.597.
243. AHW 1141. For the office of $\check{s}akmu$ (GAR-mu) in the NA period see R.Henshaw, JAOS LXXXVII (1967) 517-525; LXXXVIII (1968) 461-483;C (1980) 286-288; J.N.Postgate, AnSt. XXX (1980) 67-76.
244. KBO 2,5:ii,53.
245. KUB 26,62:11.
246. StBoT, Tf.vi:r.12.
247. RS 15,182 (PRU II,35-6).
248. AKA 133:iii,7 cf [$\check{s}ak$] $\bar{i}-in$ KUR-ka (EA 7,77).
249. JEN 135 cf. The same PN GAR.KUR JEN 321. See N.B.Jankowska, JESHO XII (1969) 261-264.
250. Stele 52:3, Fig.10:4. Stele 63:3, Fig.10:3, Stele 67:6, Fig.10:8.
251. Stele 73:3, Fig.10:15; Stele 92:3, Fig.10:6.
252. Assur 18787 = VAT 17888 (B.K.Ismail, Sumer XXIV (1968) 18:1.
253. See Fig.10.
254. Stele 88, see Fig.10:1-2.
255. KAJ 103; 106; 133; see Fig. 4 : 2.
256. Ep.104; 115; 129; Assur 1 (1973) 3, n.13.
257. Stele 128, Fig.10,9.
258. KAJ 191, see p. 94f; Fig.4:6.
259. Ep.134; Assur 1 (1973) 3.

260. BBSt 6:ii,6-18
ilku in Kudurru refers to kinds of duty, were, usually the king exempted one from that concern, cf MDP II,Pl.22:iv,6; 10,Pl.2,i,21; 27:iii,34-35; BBSt 6:i,48,51,ii,6,31-32; 24:48; 25:21; Hinke Kudurru 25:iii,25.
261. BBSt 6:ii,28; Sumer XXXII (1976) 94-29; Afo XXIII (1970) 2:ii,2.
262. For references see Fig.11.
263. PKB 144, n.871; 202 and n.1246; JESHOVI (1963) 235-236.
264. PKB 297,300, n.1965.
265. BBSt 8:i,15 cf ^{LU^u}_{[sa-[k]}an(BBSt 10;r.32).
266. BBSt 6:ii,28.
267. PKB 297,n.1946.
268. Hinke, Kudurru:iii,9 PKB 297,n.1949.
269. BBSt.6:ii,18 PKB 297, n.1946.
270. PKB 202, see n.1946.
271. F.Rasched, Sumer XXXII (1976) 94ff.
272. cf. Fig. 5:1,21.
273. KAH II,83:19-20, MAOG IX,40; ARI II, 409.
274. See Fig. 13:1.
- 2 75. See Stele 64,66,134.
276. Tp.III.II 21:18-19; Tp.III.I 24:139-140.
277. T p.III.II 21:20,15:1-2; Tp.III.I 24:141-144
278. See Fig.13:15.i A person with this name appears to be the *sakin-māti* of Que. See Fig.13:15. ii
279. II R 67:42 = Tp III. II ,35; cf Layard Pl.2:27; Tp.III.II 30:8; Tp.III.I 50:27.
280. Lie Sg.II 66-68, ii: 444-454. cf Sg.II.II, 48:4-5; 25:3-4; Sg.II.I, 62:372-373
281. N D 2759 (NL 37,H.W.F.Saggs, Iraq XX(1958) 182-187 = J.N.Postgate, Iraq XXXV(1973) 22-35)
282. J.N.Postgate, *ibid.*27; 33
283. see TCAE 219
284. see Fig.12:14; TCAE 45 (i.7), 243; 274-275
285. NL 89, H.W.F.Saggs, Iraq XXVIII(1966)185-187 = TCAE 220;223;225;383 ff
286. *šābe šarri* as fighter troops cf ABL 99:r.14-16; 455:r.14 cf TCAE 220; 252-254.

287. see TCAE 219; cf ABL 170:r.12ff, TCAE *ibid*.
288. ND 2715:38-39 = NL 12, H.W.F.Saggs, Iraq XVII(1955)127-130 = TCAE 219ff, 225,390-392.
289. see TCAE 219, 224 and cf ABL 99:15, TCAE 220,253; ND 2431;3 B.Parker, Iraq XXXII(1961) 24, cf TCAE 220;224; 226
290. GPA 188.
291. He is described as the *šakin-māti* of Kalhu in ND 275(a) = GPA 172; ND 494 = GPA 132.
292. GPA,p.188.
293. ND 417 = GPA 189.
294. For a similar greeting of equality between *šaki-māti* and *bēl-pāhete* see ABL,705, a letter from Ša-Aššur-dubbu, *šakin-māti* of Tušhan (Eponym 707 BC), see Fig.13:103 and Fig.12:12) to Sargon about the expectation of an uprising, where he says:
^{LU}EN.NAM ...[i^{na} Pa^{na} naua issapar mā atā ^{LU}A-šipri ša ŠEŠ-ya

qalli - 'The provincial-governor..sent (a word) to me: Why does the messenger of my brother so little(scarcely)' cf.
 IM ^I*aššur*-NUMUN.DU and ^{I.d}*U.GUR.KUR*^{ir} PAP.ua (TCL 9, 68).

295. See Fig.9:22.
296. see p.122f
297. ND 476 = GPA 66:1-2, 6-7.
298. GPA 177 -178.
299. GPA 171. In 1.4, Postgate restored it as ^{SA}*G* which however, must be read ^{KUR}*[ame]*-di, since it is similarly occurring in his stele
300. IR 35, 2:9-10.
301. GPA 34.
302. ND 203 = GPA 15:11-12.
303. ND 216 = GPA 90; ND 261 = GPA 91.
304. See Fig. 13:31.
305. See Fig.13 .
306. E.Weidner, Die Inschriften von Tell Halaf(Berlin 1940); AfO VI.
307. Fig.13:61.
308. Weidner, *ibid.* Nos.3-8.
309. Weidner, *ibid.*, Nos. 9-10.
310. Weidner, *ibid.*, No.12.
311. Weidner, *ibid.*, No.11.
312. Weidner, *ibid.* Nos. 13-16.
313. Weidner, *ibid.*, No.1.
314. Weidner, *ibid.* Nos.17-19.
315. See Fig.12.
316. ABL 473 = R.C.Thompson, 'An Assyrian Parallel to an Incident in the Story of Samirama', Iraq IV (1937) 35-43; see E.Ebeling, Tul. 13; von Soden, ZA XLIII (1939) 255; L.Oppenheim, JAOS LXI (1941) 256; H.Tadmor, JCS XII (1957) 37. ^{aš}*lu* should

be something belonging to the city-gate (see CAD A(2) 447b. For *nāhlaptu* + *hallupu* 'enveloping shirts' possibly 'armour' cf CAD N.1,138a, H 46b. *taqtulu qatalu**, 3rd.P.fem.Perfect 'to kill, to slaughter', Arabic(qlt)

317. A.Suleiman. Adab-Al-Rafidian II (1971) 15-52 (Arabic). See also J.E.Curtis and A.K.Grayson, 'Some Inscribed Objects from Sherif Khan in the British Museum', Iraq XLIV (1982) 87-94.
318. *ana LUGAL EN-ia IR-ka I.dXXX.I LU^Uhazānu ša URU^USA.URU^U ša LUGAL bēlī ipqiduni.*
319. *12 ANŠE^UKUR.RA^U MES^U KUR^U kusāya ša LU^UGAR.KUR etarhuni* see TCAE 8,
320. A person with this name is mentioned in ABL 558:10. He seems to be authorized to send a *qurbūtu* -official in order to investigate work under the supervision of the *hēl-pāhete* of Lahiru and Dur-Šarrukin. Aššur-našir was the LU^UGAL.SAG and *limmu* in 654 BC (RLA II 426,444, ADD 76:r.1 = ARU 654; ABL 176:r.8). He also served under Ashurbanipal (Abp.III 694; ABL 654:14).
321. ABL 307.
322. The single exception to that has been discussed on p.92; 153; another broken text mentioned LU^UNAM. MES^U URU^USA.URU^U (ABL 148:r.1).
323. Exception in the year 718 BC. see Fig.13:29.
324. ADD II 132. Streck also described *NAM* as a logogram for *šaknu* (Abp. II 547) cf F.Delitsch, HWB 656.
325. ADD II 137.
326. AB 106.
327. JAOS LXXXVII (1967) 517-525; LXXXVIII (1968) 461-483; C (1980) 286-287.
328. AnSt. XXX (1980) 67-76; cf G. van Driel, BiOrXXXVIII (1981) 259-272.
329. IraqXIII (1951) 103.
330. NWL 13, cf n. 328 above.
331. loc.cit. n.328 above.
332. loc.cit. n 328 above.

333. GPA 188-189
334. JTS X/I (1959) 84-85; GTWB 247
335. see note 327 above.
336. J.N.Postgate. loc.cit.; G. van Driel. loc.cit. cf R.Henshaw, loc.cit. n.327 above.
337. Such as *šamaš-reša-ušur* ^{LUGAR} *suhi u* ^{KUR} *mari* (see p.57). Further evidence is that *abdi-DINGIR* ^{LUGAR} *ša adini A* *dakuri* - 'Abdi-ili, the *šaknu*-official of Adini, son of Dakuri' (SPA 1,285, No.14, PKB 11-12, 265, 200; n.1221) occurs in his private inscription of a bowl dated about the time of Shalmaneser III, because Adini, son of Dakuri, is described as *LUGAL* (*šarru*) in Shalmanesers campaign in 851 BC. (E. Michel, *WO* IV (1967) 34:iv,6). Similarly, a contemporary, *zabdi-DINGIR* ^{LUGAR} *mušallim-d* *AMAR-UD DUMU* *amukanu* (F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XVI (1919) 125:i,14-16; PKB 198,n.1208; 1238) *Mušallim-Marduk* was also known from Shalmaneser III's claim to have received his tribute (E.Michel, op.cit., 34:vi,8; PKBps.1212; 1238).
338. *JAOS* LXXXVIII (1968), appendix III.
339. MSL XII 234-235 cf ND 5457:6, *Iraq*XIX(1959) 31; see R. Anst. Henshaw, *JAOS* LXXXVII (1967) 518-519; J.N.Postgate.loc.cit.68)
340. *JAOS* C (1980) 286-287.
341. GPA p.8 n.21; loc.cit.69-70.
342. *Afo* XXIII (1970) 9-10; ABZ No.597.
343. *Asarh.*87:14.
344. see Fig.7 p 141.
345. *mušezib* ^{LUGAR} *ša* *EN.IGI-anni* (NL 18:3-4. H.W.F.Saggs, *Iraq* XVII (1955) 137). Bel-emuranni is known as the *šakin-māti* of Rašappa, eponym of 737 BC, see Fig.13:23,1). Saggs then rightly points out that the joint writer (i.e. Bel-duri (and) *Musezib*) tried to identify themselves to the king, by their master (i.e. Bel-emuranni). Also ^{LUGAR} *ša* ^{MI} *šakintu* (NL 81:5) Saggs, loc.cit.XXVII,28. The *šakintu* was probably in charge of the harim. The earliest attestation of this female official is 694 BC (Eponym Ili-issiya, Fig. 13:48:2). The exact nature of her function is difficult to assess but she seems to have been a kind of 'house-keeper'. She certainly supervised

certain female palace-personel and may also have been concerned with the adminsitration of the royal harim (if there was such in Assyria) and with the real estate which belonged to them (Personal communication of Susan L.Rollin, whose Ph.D.dissertation, University of London 1985 covers this class of females. cf ^IEN.DINGIR-ya ^{LÚ}GAR ^{MI}E.GAL (ND 2605:22, B.Parker, Iraq XXIII (1961) 36-37.

346. Fig. 13 and 8 .
347. The personal name, its abbreviation and *limmu* followed. C.Saporetti; OMA and Ep.
348. Son of Ittabšī-den-Aššur (Fig.10;10), father of Urad-Kube (Fig.10;16); *bēl-pāhete* of Aššur (Fig.4:2). A person with this name occurs once with the title ^{LÚ}qēpu ša šarri and as eponym of KAJ 116:9-10. See Ep. 115.
349. Son of Aššur-zer-iddina, grandson of Aššur-dammiq, great-grandson of Qibi-Assur, the [sukkallū] rabū šar hanigalbat-Stele 63:7-8; Assur I,7).
350. Son of Reš-Aššur, šakin-māt ^{URU}aššur-ma (Stele 52:7-8).He is described as the ša (XXX) rabū ša ^Iaššur-reša-iši šar ^{KUR}aššur. (Stele 52).
351. Son of Aššur-le'i, probably grandson of Adad-našir of Stele 61. father of Ber-nadin-apli (stela 135). If this assumption is correct then this family-tree is:
- | | | |
|------------------|---|---------------------------|
| Adad-našir | } | Aššur-uballiṭ (Stela 61) |
| Aššur-le'i | | |
| Aššur-nadin-šumi | } | Shalmaneser I (Stela 135) |
| Ber-nadin-apli | | |
- See Ep.44,55; OMA II 52-53; 124-125
352. Son of Aššur-emuranni (Stela 92, 95).
353. Father of *Ninurta-apla-iddina* ^{LÚ}rah-kišir ^{KUR}huradi- stela 57: 6-7; 67:1-3, see Assur I,7-8; RLA II 438-439); grandfather of Marduk-uballissu (Fig.10;12).
354. Son of Samedi (Fig.10:13) *bēl-pāhete* of Halahhi (Fig.4:6).
355. A person with this name was the qēpu-official (Afo XIII (1939-41) 20, OMA 388 .

356. Son of Ilī-haddā, the *sukkallu rabê šarri* ^{KUR}hanigalbat (Stela 129:4-7; Assur I,2; Ep.131; OMA 245).
357. PN and dating are following PKB.
358. Alternative reading could be *uštīmas* in *amēl iššakkē ša uštīm* BBSt 4:i,6.
359. Anat was probably the capital city of Suhi during 885-882 BC (BiOrXXVII:ii,69-73), otherwise Suru (AKA 350-351:iii,16-17); see further information in PKB 182-190.
360. Gabbarini probably the main city of Suhi during 780, 770-752 BC (WDOG IV,10;iii,1f; RLA III 129, PKB 219) was founded by its provincial governor, Šamaš-reša-ušur, see p57 f .
361. See PKB 243, n.1563 .
362. Adad-nerari II recovered Lubdu from Babylonia (KAH II,84: 29 ARI II 420; see p20). The *šaknu* of Lubdu and the one of Suhi presented five live elephants to Ashurnasirpal II on the occasion of the opening ceremonies at Kalhu (Iraq XIV (1952) 34:96; PKB 178-179).
363. (ana)bel-taklak:usually written Bel-taklak except in C^b2 (RLA II 432) which is written with *ana* .
364. The sign *PAB=ušur* could be read *PAB=ahu* .
365. found in 3.C^a 3:7 alongside Nabu-šarru-ušur, Eponym of 786 BC RLA II 422-423.
366. He was the *nāgir-ekalli*, eponym of 741 BC (RLA II 424-425, 430, 446) See his stela published by S.Page, Iraq XXX (1968) 139-153.
367. This name is written in various ways. Bel(harran)-šadua. He is described as the *šakin-māti* of Šurri in K 1292 and was eponym as well. This may indicate that Kar-Aššur-ah-iddina's location was within the vicinity of Šurri (Tyre), not Šidon at least. (cf RLA V 407).
368. In ADD 74:r.E.1 = ARU 138, he is described as *arku ša* while in ADD 360:r.13-14 = ARU 373 (*ina tarši* ^IAššur-PAP-AŠ ^{XX} ^{KUR}aššur-^{KI}). However, he seems to have been transferred to Marqasa province since he is found as eponym of that province in ADD 361:r.7-8 = ARU 441, written *limmu* ^Idan-na-nu ša

URU
mar-qa-sa.

369. This name is also written Gihilu in RLA II (426-427).
370. This document is dated to the 23rd year of Sennacherib's reign - MU 23 KAM I. d^d XXX. PA^P MFS^S -SU XX KUR aššur^{KI} linme I^I Mannu-ki -U^v sa^v URU^v supite (i.e. 683 BC). According to the linmu of 683 BC (Fig.13:58,2) this is surely a scribal error in the year number which is 21 rather than 23.
371. in C^a3:7 Balaṭu is listed instead.
372. in C^a2 the sign of UTU written as EN.
373. He is also described as nāgir-ekalli in ABL 984:10 and in C^a5 Aššur-mat-upahhir is listed instead.

CHAPTER III

I. The subordinate officials of the provincial administratorsi.) The *rab-ālāni*1. Title

The common way of reading the Sumerian term $LÚ GAL.URU^{MES}_{ni}$ in Akkadian is $amēl$ *rab-ālāni* on the basis of two lexical entries: *GAL:ra-bu-u*⁽¹⁾ and *ú-ru : URU: a-lu(m)*,⁽²⁾ URU^{DIDL} ; *a-la-ni*⁽³⁾, with the presence of the prefixed determinative $LÚ$ and suffixed phonetic complement-*ni*⁽⁴⁾. This title is written $LÚ GAL.URU^{MES}$ in a list of officials from Sultan-Tepe⁽⁵⁾. However, the title once occurs in the singular form i.e. $LÚ GAL.URU(rab-āli)$ in ABL 424:r.3-5 : 'I sent the itu'a (troops) with the *rab-āli*...The deputy of their *rab-ālāni* ($LÚ GAL.URU^{MES}-šunu$) (and) nine men with him are wounded'⁽⁶⁾. This text only makes sense if the $LÚ GAL.URU$ and $LÚ GAL.URU^{MES}$ were one and the same. The writer may well be referring to a single individual under the two designation. This title always occurs in the plural, forty-nine times with PN⁽⁷⁾. There is an unusual plural formation for the *rab-ālāni* where it reads $amēl$ *rab-ālānate* for $LÚ GAL.URU^{MES}_{te}$ ⁽⁸⁾. This form appears to be used only in the four instances cited, and it is never found in legal transactions.

If the reading *rab-ālāni* is correct, then the interpretation 'great one of the cities/towns' or 'chief of cities/towns' is plausible⁽⁹⁾. However, the meaning of *ālu* in the singular is 'a city, town', while the plural *ālāni* can denote a whole range of inhabited localities, whether towns, villages or other settlements⁽¹⁰⁾. The use of *ālāni* for 'villages' can best be demonstrated from the annals of Sennacherib where he claims to have destroyed forty-six strong walled *ālāni* as well as small *ālāni* in the surrounding areas of Jerusalem⁽¹¹⁾. Since historically and archaeologically this large number of towns is not attested, the small *ālāni* at least must have been 'villages'. Sargon claimed that he attacked twelve strong walled *ālāni* together with eighty-four *ālāni* of the area around the land of

Zikirtu⁽¹²⁾. Here again it is unlikely that such number of towns actually existed in this remote country district. Since these small *ālāni* are interpreted as 'villages' it seems more appropriate to translate *rab-ālāni* as 'village-inspector'⁽¹³⁾.

2. Use of the designation *rab-ālāni*

The earliest attestation of an official with such title in Assyria was in the first half of the thirteenth century BC. Four MA PN are associated with this designation:

1. Aššur-šumu-iddina, *GAL.URU^{DIDLI}*, whose residence was at Šibaniba (c.1274-1245 BC), in view of three letters (out of six) in which he was addressed as 'my lord'⁽¹⁴⁾. These letters were mainly concerned with the administration of that region. In two other administrative texts in the same archive he was responsible for levying a total of 397 men from various towns and cities including Šibaniba itself⁽¹⁵⁾. Billa 49 may indicate the purpose of this levy; it mentions that these troops were assigned to an expedition (campaign) to Hanigalbat. Finkelstein pointed out that this expedition may possibly be equated with the campaign of Shalmaneser I to that zone⁽¹⁶⁾. This could mean that the *rab-ālāni* of Šibaniba at this period was of such important status as to be addressed as 'my lord', and had responsibilities similar to those of the provincial-governor.

2. Erib-Sin *GAL.URU^{DIDLI}* (1244-1208 BC) occurs twice as a supplier of rations⁽¹⁷⁾. Unusually with only twelve days between their delivery (i.e. 11th and 23rd of Sin, eponym of Ellil-nadin-apli)⁽¹⁸⁾. This may be a further indication that a *rab-ālāni* was here carrying out a similar duty to that of the *bēl-pāhete* in supplying rations at that time.

3. Mudammiq-Marduk *GAL.URU^{DIDLI.MEŠ}-ni ša URU^{halahhi}* (1134/1133 BC) is the sender of three *nāmurtu* -gifts to Ninurta-Tukulti-Assur⁽¹⁹⁾.

4. Aššur-mušabši *GAL.URU^{DIDLI.MEŠ}-ni ša URU^{halahhi}* (1134/1133 BC) is also the sender of a *nāmurtu*-gift to the same king⁽²⁰⁾.

It is worth noting that Halahhi as an Assyrian province was first attested under Eru-apla-usur, *šakin-māti/bēl-pāhete* (1178-1134 BC)⁽²¹⁾ and alongside him were these two *rab-ālāni* i.e. Mudammiq-Marduk and Aššur-mušabši.

This implies that Halahhi had two *rab-ālāni*s working at the same time under the authority of Eru-apla-ušur.

There is also some evidence that during the NA period the *šakin-māti* was superior to the *rab-ālāni*. The best example for this comes from Kalhu, where Bel-tarši-iluma was the *šakin-māti* and Bel-issiya his *rab-ālāni*, who is first mentioned as holding this office in 791BC. His commercial activities can be seen in Fig.16:8 and the latest occurrence of this name comes from a legal text in which Kiliqanu, his subordinate/slave(*IR ša^IEN.KI-ia*) acts as the seller of a workshop.(756 BC). This indicates that if he was still alive at this time, Bel-issiya must have served thirty-five years as the *rab-ālāni* of Kalhu.

In the western provinces Iluma-le'u was given the title *rab-ālāni* in a land-grant dated to 788 BC⁽²²⁾. Six years later he seems to have been promoted from *rab-ālāni* to be the *šakin-māti* of Našibina as eponym for 782BC⁽²³⁾. If this assumption is correct then Iluma-le'u was the *rab-ālāni* of Šepa-Ištar, *šakin-māti* of Našibina⁽²⁴⁾ until he succeeded him on promotion. It is likely that Iluma-le'u, the recipient of a royal command (*abāt-šarri*)⁽²⁵⁾ is our *šakin-māti* rather than the *rab-ālāni*, since he was ordered to communicate with Mannu-ki-Aššur, the *šakin-māti* of Guzana. This implies that the latter occupied the same office from 793 BC, and that this royal command should be dated to c.782 BC, which is the last year of Adad-nerari III, or soon afterwards. At this period, Ninuaya, the messenger of Išmani-Ninurta, *rab-ālāni*⁽²⁶⁾, is mentioned in a broken context. Another *rab-ālāni* occurs in a text from Balawat, dated also to the reign of Sennacherib.⁽²⁷⁾

During the NA period the *rab-ālāni*'s title is used in relation to the *qannu*⁽²⁸⁾; being in charge of a subdivision of an Assyrian province, as in ABL 612:1: *qanni LUGAL.URU^{MES}* and ABL 252:8-9: *LUGAL.URU^{MES}-šu ša qanni taḥūme ša KUR TILLA-ya-* 'The *rab-ālāni* of the *qannu* of the border of the Urartians'⁽²⁹⁾. According to ND 2728⁽³⁰⁾, a *qannu* might also contain several villages: *PAP 7 URU^{MES}-ni ša qanni URU 4.DINGIR* - 'A total of seven villages of the *qannu* of Arba'il'. There was more than one *rab-ālāni* holding office within a province, and it is not

known how many *qannu* or how many villages within it were under his control: *I sailu I DUG.GA.IM.DINGIR [I] bukkāya PAP 3 LU GAL. URU? [MES] [IX] bū I.d IM-nadan PAP 2 KUR rasappa [I] gahbi I mar-larim PAP 2 KUR barhalza I addi I LUGAL-lu-dāri I bagusa PAP 3 URU tillē PAP 10 LU GAL.URU MES(31)*. So far it is not known how many *rab-ālāni* might be appointed within a given province.

3. The *rab-ālāni*'s relation to other authorities

i) The royal household

Evidence of the association of the *rab-ālāni* with a higher authority is found in two broken letters where the village-inspector seems to have been responsible for maintaining royal property: *dullu ša É EN^{MES}-ya* - 'the service of the household of my lord' (32). It must refer to the king since both letters are addressed to him. It is significant that the title of the village-inspector in ABL 778:r.10 is written as *LU GAL.URU^{MES}-te*, Nabu-šum-iškun (33); the writer of this letter is not known to be a provincial-governor. Aššur-alik-pani, the author of ABL 784, who assigned *dullu* to the *rab-ālāni* is probably to be identified with the *bēl-pāhete* of Barhalza in ABL 853:12 (34) of the same name who was also the author of ABL 783-785-788. This further emphasizes the superiority of the *bēl-pāhete* over the *rab-ālāni* and illustrates their relationship with the province of Barhalza.

Similarly, the crown-prince had a *rab-ālāni* acting on his behalf as a buyer of seven persons (*ZI^{MES}*) from Adad-Ištar: *I Si'mi'di LU GAL.URU^{MES} ša DUMU.XX ina ŠA 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR ina ša URU gargamiš ilqī kaspu gammar taddin* - 'Si'mi'di, the village-inspector of the crown-prince, has contracted and bought at the full price of two mana of silver of Car-chamish' (date 680 BC) (35). Again Si'mi'di, the *rab-ālāni*, is the buyer of three persons from the same seller Adad-Ištar in 683 BC (36). The title is here written without any qualifications and since three years had elapsed since the last contract it is unclear whether he was still acting on behalf of the crown-prince, or otherwise officially, or for his own interests.

Zakutu(Naqi'a), the Queen-Mother of Ashurbanipal, seems

to have had a large estate and authority east of the Tigris where Lahira was probably her residence⁽³⁷⁾. Three *rab-ālāni* are associated with her:

1. DUMU.UŠ-ūā ^{LÚ}GAL.URU^{MES} ša URU lahira ša É AMA XX is a seller in a broken context dated 678 BC⁽³⁸⁾. This may indicate that either Zakutu had a residential palace in Lahira or merely that she owned property there which came within the village-inspector's domain. An Aplua was also the writer of ABL 324 addressed to the Queen-Mother (ana AMA LUGAL GAŠĀN-ya ĪR-ka ^IDUMU.UŠ-a) which concerns the arrival of presumably her messenger there. A person of the same name appears to be the *bēl-pāhete* of Arrapha c.663 BC who was involved in the civil-war between Ashurbanipal and Šamaš-šumukin⁽³⁹⁾. If Aplua, the *rab-ālāni* of ADD 301 and Aplua, *bēl-pāhete* of Arrapha mentioned in ABL 324 and 754 are identical, there is a possibility that he was promoted from *rab-ālāni* to *bēl-pāhete* involving a change of location, after having served fifteen years as *rab-ālāni*.

2. Martu'a ^{LÚ}GAL.URU^{MES} ša ^{MI}É.GAL is found as joint-seller with Mardi of seventeen persons⁽⁴⁰⁾. Both were described as subordinate officials of the *bēl-pāhete* of Barhalza: PAP 2 ^{LÚ}MES ša ^{LÚ}EN.NAM ša ^{KUR}barhalza. This contract is dated to the twenty-first year of Sennacherib's reign. Thereby, the first line of this text should be restored as ^{MI}É.GAL on the basis that it refers to Zakutu, the wife of Sennacherib⁽⁴¹⁾.

3. [^IDIN]GIR.MU?.AŠ ^{LÚ}GAL.URU^{MES} [ša ^{MI}É.GAL is mentioned in an undated memoranda⁽⁴²⁾].

These examples may provide evidence that the authority of Zakutu extended over the eastern part of the Tigris at least during the last year of Sennacherib's reign 680 BC, while Lahira and the south of Babylonia were under the control of his *bēl-pāhete*⁽⁴³⁾. ABL 917, also addressed to her, reads: ana AMA LUGAL bēlīya ĪR-ka ^Inādin-^dAMAR-UD. Na'id-Marduk, who is known as the vassal-ruler of the Sea-land and as the brother of Nabu-zer-kitti-lišer, sons of Marduk-apla-iddin II⁽⁴⁴⁾, appealed to the Queen-Mother to send him troops because of an Elamite attack on his territory. This also shows her to be in overall control of the area concerned.

ii.) The provincial-governors

There is sufficient evidence to indicate that the *rab-ālāni* was a subordinate official of both the *bēl-pāhete* and the *šakin-māti* and, as has been shown, some *rab-ālāni* were probably promoted to the post of *bēl-pāhete* or *šakin-māti*. Further evidence of this relationship with the *bēl-pāhete* is found in a NA legal anti-litigation formula. Milkiya, the *bēl-pāhete* of Talmusi, was the seller of fields, houses, orchards and slaves: *lū^I milkiya EN.NAM lū^{LÚ} 2-e-šu lū^{LÚ} GAL. URU^{MEŠ} -šu lū^{LÚ} hazannu URU-šu⁽⁴⁵⁾*. The personal suffix (-šu) must refer back to the seller, Milkiya the *bēl-pāhete*, who therefore had both a deputy (*šanû*) and a village-inspector *rab-ālāni*. If there were not the case the writer would have had to clarify the relationship of these two officials by indicating their superior officer or location as he did with the *hazannu ālišu*. In a ration-list, Padi, the *rab-ālāni* is listed after *bēl-pāhete*, *hazannu*. He is followed by their subordinate officials⁽⁴⁶⁾.

There are a few places where the relationship of the *rab-ālāni* to lesser officials or to members of the household of a person of superiority is made clear:

1. A chief eunuch (*lū^{LÚ} GAL.SAG*) seems to have a *rab-ālāni* (*mušallim-d^I INNIN lū^{LÚ} GAL.URU^{MEŠ} ša GAL.SAG*) involved as buyer of slaves on his behalf⁽⁴⁷⁾.
2. The estate of the wife of the *turtānu* was probably managed, or under the jurisdiction, of *šamaš-aššur^{LÚ} GAL.URU^{MEŠ} -ni ša MÍ É ša lū^{LÚ} turtānu*, according to a private transaction from Nimrud⁽⁴⁸⁾.
3. Private property belonging to the *MÍ lahinite*-priest, was under *bahiyani^I lū^{LÚ} GAL.URU^{MEŠ} ša MÍ lahinite*. In this case he acted as a seller, presumably on her behalf, in c. 688 BC⁽⁴⁹⁾.

All *rab-ālāni* who were mentioned in connection with private property held by women, whether they were members of the royal household or private citizens, only acted on their behalf in the necessary legal transaction. This could be because the property of the women concerned fell within their administrative area. It does not necessarily imply that the women were actually living there at the time,

it rather indicates that the *rab-ālāni* was responsible for the property of higher dignitaries in their absence.

Kinnier Wilson suggested that the *rab-ālāni* is the third official in the provincial hierarchy, after the *bēl-pāhete* and the *šaṇû*, because these officials proceed him in ADD 59:15 and 1141:55. This may be so in these texts because the *šaṇû* is the deputy of the *bēl-pāhete*. But this is not the case for hierarchic order everywhere, since a *rab-ālāni* also could have a *šaṇû*:
 LU₂-šu ša LU_{GAL}.URU^{MES}-šunu⁽⁵⁰⁾ and IGI I[PN] LU₂-i
 LU_{GAL}.URU^{MES}⁽⁵¹⁾. Kinnier Wilson quotes the view of Mallowan that the *rab-ālāni* is equal to the *mudir-naḥiya* in the administrative organization of modern Iraq, although, as Mallowan noted and Oates suggested to him, the *rab-ālāni* was the equivalent of *Qaimmaqan* (i.e. District Commisionere) who comes under the *Mu-tassarif*, more recently called *Muhafidh* (i.e. Mayor). Comparison with the modern system implies caution since the function of some *rab-ālāni* includes duties undertaken by more than one modern official, and his position differed according to his rôle, while modern officials are appointed to a precise responsibility. Basically, the division in modern Iraq into 'provinces' (*Muhafadha*) with a subdivision into 'districts' (*Qadha*), 'subdistrict' (*Naḥiya*) and then 'villages' (*Qariya*)⁽⁵²⁾ seems generally similar to that of the Assyrian system⁽⁵³⁾.

4. The function of the *rab-ālāni*

i) Tax collection

There is much uncertainty about the exact process of tax collection because no record explaining the precise procedure has yet been found. However, royal correspondence from Nineveh and Nimrud may indicate the rôle of the *rab-ālāni* in this task. It seems possible that officials under his supervision were employed for the collection and delivery to his office. In turn he may have retained a part of it for the administrative costs of his district and sent the rest either to the centre of the province

or directly to the capital. This retention of durable payments in kind at the collection centre may have been for the purpose of maintaining supplies for use in future military operations. ND 2452⁽⁵⁴⁾ and 2623⁽⁵⁵⁾ are relevant in this respect. These two reports from Ašipa⁽⁵⁶⁾, probably to Tiglath-pileser III, concern grain rations from (i.e. collected by) Šilli-Bel the *rab-ālāni* stationed somewhere in southern Babylonia. In the first, he reports that 3000 gur are in Sippar, and 2070 gur have been taken away, probably to Kalhu, and the rest (i.e. 930 gur) were still there. This accounts for 5070 gur out of 6000 gur provided by Šilli-Bel, 'the *rab-ālāni*'. In his second report, also concerning Sippar and Kutha, he says: (ll.r.13-14) 'The rations of Šilli-Bel are not available'. This could be a reply to a royal enquiry about the progress or location of the collection of these rations. Ašipa was the writer of these and another seven letters to Sargon⁽⁵⁷⁾. In ABL 506:r.1-9, Ašipa tells about the *rab-ālāni* and the deputy (*šanû*) who came presumably to supervise the collection of straw taxes:

LÚ^{2-u} LÚ^{GAL}.

URU^{MES} gabbu ittūrdū ŠE.IN.NU issiqū šahhir KAŠ ammar
ibašūni ittannu -

All the deputy
(and) the village-inspector came down. The straw-tax they took (and) The beer[?], as much as there was, they gave it (to them).⁽⁵⁸⁾ If this Ašipa is identical with the one in Babylonia, Sargon must have transferred him to the northern frontier to act in the same capacity in the Urartian zone.

ADD 960 and 961 collated, are in fact two different texts despite the similarity in style, order, scribal writing, and even in the subject concerned. They are a long list of provincial contributions in kind. In ADD 960:iii,11'-15', we have Tuti, the village-inspector, listed among the contributors who delivered sheep, vegetables and roasted corn. Aššur-mat-taqin and [X]lu-e are also village-inspectors who are listed in

ADD 961:1-14. They delivered roasted-corn, vegetables, trays in kind and various animals. It can thus also be considered as another example of the *rab-ālāni*'s tax-collection duties⁽⁵⁹⁾. It is worth noting that a person called Aššur-mat-taqqin was the *bēl-pāhete* of Bummū and was acting as eponym during the reign of Sin-šarru-iškun (i.e. 624 BC)⁽⁶⁰⁾. If we assume that ADD 960 and 961 were recorded during Ashurbanipal's reign, which is very likely, then this could be another case of promotion from *rab-ālāni* to *bēl-pāhete*⁽⁶¹⁾. ADD 806=507:L.E.1 probably another list of contribution records: X MA.NA URUDU^{MES} ša I DINGIR.DI.SU LU GAL.URU^{MES}.

In the Nimrud texts, the lists of various horses and mules supplied by the *rab-ālāni* may be further evidence for the aspect of his tax-collection duties linked with army-supplies. These include:

1. 13 horses from Marduk-aha-iddina⁽⁶²⁾.
2. X horses and mules from Mannu-ki-ili, the village-inspector and the *bēl-pāhete* of Arzuhina⁽⁶³⁾.
3. X horses from Šulmu-ahhe, the village-inspector, 11 horses from the *bēl-pāhete* of Halšu, and X horses from the *bēl-pāhete* of Tamanuni⁽⁶⁴⁾. These examples may indicate that these *rab-ālāni* delivered their collection in the case of draught-animals directly to the capital Kalhu. Thus these lists represent a register of animals available either for ceremonial or, more probably, for military uses⁽⁶⁵⁾.

ii.) Provincial defence

The list of PN in Nimrud texts may have been compiled by officials as an aid to account for rations and as a register of individuals eligible for military service⁽⁶⁶⁾. In ND 403, the writer accused the *rab-ālāni* and the *hazannu* of failing to come to his aid, as well as blaming the recipient, presumably a provincial governor, for not sending him the promised troops⁽⁶⁷⁾. The *rab-ālāni* was not merely expected to supply horses and troops for military purposes but he was in fact reported to have been in charge of some military action itself: 'I sent the Itu'a

troops with the village-inspector. I made them march in battle line. The deputy (*šanû*) of their village-inspector (and) nine men with him are wounded by bow-shots. Two of them are dead, three of their men were wounded (i.e. by the *Itu'a*). This is their report.' - *LÚ ituya TA*

LÚ GAL.URU assapra ina ŠA qarabi ussēteqa LÚ 2-u ša LÚ GAL.
URU^{MES}-šunu 9 LÚ ERÍN^{MES} issišu ina ŠA GIŠ BAN māhisu 2 ina
ŠA-šunu ÚŠ 3 LÚ ERÍN^{MES}-šunu uttahišū anniu tēnšunu⁽⁶⁸⁾.

This report came from Nashur-bel, the *šakin-māti* of Amedi⁽⁶⁹⁾ to Sargon concerning the Urartean rebels. The *bēl-pāhete*, the *šanû* and the *rab-ālāni* were similarly involved at the same frontier⁽⁷⁰⁾. More evidence for the *rab-ālāni*'s military commitment is found in ABL 1008. The writer (name broken) informed the king that despite the *adû*-agreement made with Ludu, the Elamite, there has been an attack and destruction of two villages in their territory by the enemy who were against the village-inspector.

2URU.ŠE^{MES} TA qannišunu LÚ EN.KUR ša ana LÚ GAL.URU^{MES}-ni
idūkūni⁽⁷¹⁾. These examples may throw some light on the military tasks undertaken by the *rab-ālāni* in border areas. ND 2070⁽⁷²⁾, an administrative text, may confirm this responsibility. The letter speaks about a case in which the village-inspector was accused of being negligent, apparently for letting a murderer(?) escape to Šupria. The writer wishes to inform the king about the lack of cooperation by the Šuprians in returning the fugitive. He seems to accuse them of hiding the escaped and requests the king to enquire about it.

iii.) The *rab-ālāni* in the private sector

Postgate suggested that the Harran-census was part of a tax registration record⁽⁷³⁾. In this list reference is made to Si'-ahadi, the *rab-ālāni*, owner of 'one shepherd, six unemployed, total sum seven men, sixty sheep; and undetermined land (*A.ŠA la uddi*), and they were asking Si'-ahadi about it. The whole village of Adallal - all of it (belongs to) Si'-ahadi the village-inspector.'⁽⁷⁴⁾ Because

of the smallness of the property concerned, Si'-ahadi is probably the owner and may not be exempt from taxes. Other *rab-ālāni* were also engaged in selling⁽⁷⁵⁾ and buying⁽⁷⁶⁾ property which may have been their own.

Although his position was rather important and his title was frequently mentioned in NA letters, the *rab-ālāni* does not figure as the writer of any letter sent to the central administration, neither within the province nor to the royal capital. Reference to him in correspondence always occurs in letters sent by the provincial-governor or other named officials to the king. This may suggest that the *rab-ālāni* did not have the authority to address the central government directly and was dependent on the provincial governor or others for any communication with the higher authority.

Fig. 16 NA *rah-ālāni* associated with or without GN

PN	GN	function	date	sources
1. Addi	Tille	list of 10 <i>rah-ālāni</i>	Esarh. ABL 767:14	
2. Ahi-lamur		witness	broken	ADD 322:r.10=ARU 200
3. Aplua	Lahira	seller	678	ADD 301:1-3=ARU 535
4. Aššur-mat-taqqin		tax-coll.	Abp.?	ADD 961:14
5. Bagus	Tille	cf. 1 above		
6. Bahiyani	^{MT} <i>lahhinite</i>	seller	693/688	ADD 491:1-2=ARU 58
7. Bel-ahe		creditor	798	ND 268=GPA 101:4
8. Bel-issiya	Kalhu	buyer	791	ND 203=GPA 15:11;22
	"	"	broken	ND 242=GPA 7:6
	"	"	"	ND 264=GPA 35:9,16
	"	"	"	ND 474=GPA 9:3,9
	"	"	"	ND 478=GPA 8:6
	"	his (<i>IR</i> <i>ša</i>) seller	756	ND 495=GPA 22:2
8*. Dayan-Šamaš			Adm. III	AfO XXI, 35
9. Gabbi	Barhalza	cf. 1 above		
10. Idu XX		seller	broken	ADD 306:1-2=ARU 544
11. Iluma-le'u			788	NARGD 27:8, see AfO VI, lo.n.32;XX,35
12. Ilu-Šulum eriba		tax-coll.	broken	ADD 806 :L.H.E.1
13. Išmani- Ninurta	Našibina?	list of PN		Tell Halaf 22:6-7;P.10.32(AfOVI)
14. Mannu-ki-ilī		tax-coll.	broken	ND 430=GPA 127:4;cf. 9; ND 805 =GPA 250:1-3(date 717 BC)
15. Marduk-ahu- iddina		tax-coll.	broken	ND 445=GPA 125:7-8
16. Marduk-nadin Rašappa		cf. 1 above		
17. Mar-larim	Barhalza	"		
18. Martu'	of the Queen	seller	681	ADD 447:1,10=ARU 61
19. Mušallim- Ištar	of the Chief- Eunuch	buyer	broken	ADD 180:[4],13=ARU 495
"		"	broken	ADD 492:3,11=ARU 432
20*. "Nabu-Šezibani		" seller	691/686	ADD 497:3=ARU 616 Iraq XXV,99,138,122
20. Nabu-eriba		witness	740	ND 219=GPA 95:L.E.22
21. Nabu-zaqib		broken	broken	ADD 693:r.5
22. Padi		in list of officials		ADD 814:i,17,ii.3
23. Paqaha		witness	709	ADD 234:r.8=ARU 523
"		"	693/ 688	ADD 238:r.12=ARU 201

Fig.16 continued

PN	GN	function	date	sources
24.Sa'ilu		cf.above 1		
25.Š'ahadi		census text		ADB 3,v,10-2,TCAE 32-33
26.Si'-ma'di/ crown-pr. madi		buyer	681	ADD 231:7-8=ARU 202
"		"	683	ADD 278:6=ARU 531
27.Si'imme		seller	674	ADD 126:1,5=ARU 638
28.Sukkaya		cf.above 1		
29.Šilli-bel		tax coll.		ND 2452(NL35)Iraq XVIII 50-51,GTWB 248,NWL 16-17; ND 2623(NL36,)Iraq xviii, 51-52
30.Šarru-lu- dari	Tille	cf above 1		
31.Šarru-nuri		witness	broken	ADD 476:r.8=ARU 185
32.Šulmu-ahhe		tax-coll.	broken	ND 427=GPA 128:10-11
33.Šulmu-bel		witness	681	ADD 231:r.8=ARU 202
34.Šumma-Aššur	turtāru- household	memoranda of leg.transaction		ND 2605(Iraq XXIII,36-37)
35.Tuti		tax-coll.	broken	ADD 960:iii,15 cf CT LIII,46
36.Tab-šar-ili	XX	cf above 1		
37.[XX] Bu-u	Rasappa	"		
38.[X] DINGIR-ya		buyer	681	ADD 269:6=ARU 63
39.[XX] LU.E		tax-coll.	broken	ADD 961:5
40.[X] PAP/B. HA.BUL	Arbaga	broken	broken	ADD 923:3-4
41.[X X] QA.AN.NI		seller	686	ADD 612:1=ARU 558
42.[X X] Šamaš	URU[]			NARGD 28:10
43.[X X X]	URU[]			NARGD 28:7
44.[X.X.X]		witness	broken	ADD 193:r.E.4=ARU 512
45.[X.X.X]		buyer	broken	ADD 455:10=ARU 381
46.[X.X.X]		witness?	broken	ADD 762:r.3
47.[X.X.X]		witness		ADD 176:16=ARU 630
48.		anti-liti- gation	694	ADD 59:15=ARU 123
49.	bit ₁]			CT LIII,936:5
50. XX EN.	Imgur-Enlil	seller	671	Iraq XXV ; 92,107;1-2

2. The šanû

The title šanû is found only during the NA and NB periods. The earliest references to this official occur in texts dated from Sargon onwards⁽⁷⁷⁾. This may further prove the provincial reorganization undertaken by Tiglath-pileser III. The term was applied in the Assyrian homeland as well as in foreign territories. There is no evidence that this official was ever appointed by the central authority.

i) The title

LÚ^u ša'-nu-[u] is the only form found in lexical texts⁽⁷⁸⁾. It is also found once in a Nimrud document⁽⁷⁹⁾. There are several ways of writing the logographic form LÚ^u 2-u/u/ e/i. This is usually taken to mean 'the second' or 'deputy'. It is commonly attested with PN + profession, i.e. LÚ^u šanû ša PN + bēl-pāhete, or just with a PN. In some cases PN + šanû stand alone without additional information as to whose deputy the šanû was or to whom he acted as 'deputy' in rank, and it may be given without a GN⁽⁸⁰⁾. On the other hand, there are instances where a šanû qualifies the proceeding professional occupant. šanû relates to the profession (i.e. 'second') rather than designates it as a 'deputy' ⁽⁸¹⁾

2. The position of the *šanû*

There is evidence that a *šanû* was appointed by a higher authority, but only when such official had first obtained permission from king to do so. This may mean that the *šanû* -official was of sufficient status to warrant royal sanction on his appointment. For example: *anaku LU²-u TA URU^{TAH}.URU^{adu} URU^{kar-d}UTU URU^{dannu} uptaqid* - 'I have appointed a deputy from the city Tahalu' to the city Kar-šamaš, the royal fortified city.' Presumably he was to be in charge of the prisoners of whom the king had written to the author of this letter (*LU^{hubte} ša LUGAL bēlī išpurānni attubil* ⁽⁸²⁾). Evidence of the *šanû* 's position in relation to the *raqb-ālāni* is stated in ABL 414:E.20-21, r.1-2: *I^{ya}' iru LU²-u ana LU^{GAL}.URU^{MES}-te ina libbi lapqid* - 'May I appoint Ya'iru, the deputy, to the(position of) village-inspector'. Bel-liqbi, the writer, was the provincial-governor of the Šupite province ⁽⁸³⁾. This identification is found in r.10-12: *I^{amili}'ti DUMU I^{ameri} ina URU^{šupite} ina muhhiya ittalka temāte asa'alšū* - 'Amili'ti, son of Ameri, has come before me in Šupite, I questioned him about the reports.' Furthermore, the writer is requesting Sargon to rebuild the 'post-station' (*bīt-mārdūti*) at *URU^{hesa} (ll.4.12), URU^{argite} (l.14), and URU^{sazana} (l.r.4)*. Hesa is probably to be identified with the village Hasiya, some 40 km south of Hams ⁽⁸⁴⁾, which was under the authority of Nabu-ušalla, the *LU^{GAR}-nu* (ll.10,18) at the time of writing. This may indicate that Ya'iru, the *šanû* concerned, was employed by the regional authority, the provincial-governor, thus indicating that he was part of the provincial administration.

The deputy (*šanû*) is addressed as 'my lord' by a person called Aššur-rešua in a text in which he appeals for his re-installation, probably to his previous post

from which he had been moved: *ana LU^{2-e} EN-ia IR-ka I^{aššur}-rešua lū šulmu anā EN-ia atā bēlī qāla anaku āki UR-ka asabu adualla 3 egirāti anā UGU EN-ia assapar atā bēlī la imagur gabrū ša egirte la ušēbbala anā UGU piqittēya bēlī lusahirānni DUMU ša ana AD-ka alsamuni ana Kāša [u?]ma lalsumu* - 'To the deputy, my lord, your servant Aššur-rešua. May it be well with you my lord. Why does my lord pay no attention, I am your subject (lit.dog) I am wondering I have sent three letters to my lord. Why does my lord refuse to send (me) an answer to my letter? May my lord re-install me in my office. I served (lit.ran) as a son of your father, let me (n)ow serve you.'⁽⁸⁵⁾ It seems likely that this Aššur-rešua is identical with the person of that name on the Urartean frontier, and this deputy could be the šanū of the nāgir-ekalli who ^{probably} become governor in Mušašir. The province Mušašir, thereafter, was named by the nāgir-ekalli-title⁽⁸⁶⁾. If this assumption is correct, then the deputy and the master must have been at Nineveh at the time of writing, otherwise why was it found there unless it was in a file-copy sent to the capital from Mušašir. The deputy as holding an important official position within the Assyrian provincial administration is confirmed by a royal letter addressed to him personally⁽⁸⁷⁾.

iii.) The administrative function of the šanū

a) Royal correspondence

As shown above, some deputies were involved in the NA provincial administration. Their task presumably differed according to the official to whom they were deputy. In ABL 430:1-8, r.1-5, the šanū is the joint recipient of the crown-prince's letter about thirteen fugitives from Der: *IM DUMU LUGAL ana LU šā-ni-i-ū I^d PA-dini amur 13 LU^{ERIN} MEŠ I^d A-e-DU DUMU URU dēru kī uše-hiliq* - 'Letter of the crown-prince to the deputy and Nabu-dini-am(ur). When Ac-ibni, the Dercan, allowed thirteen men to escape'

This deputy could have been an official of the province Der, despite the difficulty in identifying whose deputy he was and the fact that Nabu-dini-amur is not otherwise known to be a provincial governor.

In ABL 884:r.5-12 we read: 'Concerning Nabu-hamatua of whom the king, my lord, has spoken to me: "That (man) himself should come. You should send(?) their advisors(?)" When their chieftain spoke to me: "He will go^{out} (i.e. Nabu-hamatua), they (their advisors) will not go, we shall give (them) to the deputy of the land Habban.' *ina UGU I.d^d PA-hamātua ša LUGAL bēlī iqbūni mā šū DU^(ka) tal?-ta?-par mil?-ki?-šunu kī annie LUGAL^{MES} iqtibūnt mā šū ušša la illaku mā ana LU^{2-e} ša KUR^{habban} niddan.* The writer Nabu-ahu-ušur is probably an official in the province of Mazumua. There is no evidence that he was a provincial-governor, so an official of lower rank is possible. The Nabu-hamatua concerned, was a subordinate official to the provincial governor of Mazamua, assuming that he was the deputy of Šarru-emuranni, the *šakin-māti* of Mazamua, eponym of 712 BC⁽⁸⁸⁾. This assumption may be supported by ABL 311, a letter from Šarru-emuranni to Sargon, which concerns a military campaign. In it he refers to Nabu-hamatua as his subordinate official: 11.r.11 *I.d^d PA-hamatua annaka limarku dullu ša LUGAL EN-ia leppušu* - 'Let Nabu-hamatua stay behind here, to perform the work of the king, my lord.' Further evidence of Nabu-hamatua's subordination may also be found in another letter from him to Sargon about the Medes who sought an audience with the king. His communications with Sargon seem to depend on a letter from the *bēl-pāhete* to him. In it, he (i.e. Nabu-hamatua) was ordered to send his messenger with these Median to the palace: *egirti TA IGI LU^{EN}.NAM LU^{KUR} madāya ussīšīya mā LU^A <šip>-ri-ka ina É.GAL lubil⁽⁸⁹⁾*. It is likely that this *bēl-pāhete* was the provincial governor of the Median province⁽⁹⁰⁾. Once more Nabu-hamatua occurs in a broken letter, probably sent from Šarru-emuranni, in which he says: *I.d^d PA-hamātua ina UGU-ia] issapra mā I aššur-ZU ina UGU I ulisuni illak mā 5 KUR.RA^{MES} I ulisunu ana I aššur-ZU ittidin KUR.RA^{MES} ša iddinaššuni I.d^d PA-hamātua ina libbi egirte ana UZU^{MES}-ni*

issatar ussēbila egirāte ša I.^dPA-hamātua ina URU NINA
 pān LUGAL EN-ia ussērība isisiu TA UGU LÚ SAG ša I aššur-ZU
 ša pān I.^dPA-hamātua ša LUGAL EN išpuranni 3-su MU.AN.NA
 TA bid pān I.^dPA-hamātua ihliqanni la illak ana šērudi
 aki qabsi KUR-šu lū-šetīqū-nišu - 'Nabu-hamatua has written
 to me saying: "Aššur-le'u will go to Ullesunu. Ullesunu has
 given five horses to Aššur-le'u". The horses which he has
 given to him, Nabu-hamatua has stated in a letter to our
 kinsmen. I have dispatched (lit. caused to bring) the letters
 of Nabu-hamatua. I caused them to enter Nineveh unto the
 presence of the king, my lord. ^{They read it out} They concern the reš-official
 of Aššur-le'u who is before Nabu-hamatua of whom the king,
 (the) lord, has written to me. The third year he fled
 from the presence of Nabu-hamatua (and) he did not go to
 bring him down. May he/they let him traverse the compass
 of his land.' (91) If our assumption is correct, then
 Nabu-hamatua was the deputy of Šarru-emuranni, the šakin-
 māti of Mazamua, because ABL 311 is also dated to c.712 BC,
 and Ullesunu was the contemporary Mannean vassal-ruler
 under Sargon (92). Aššur-le'u occurs in the Sargon annals
 as the ruler of Karalla, allied with Ursa of Urartu.
 Ullesunu, the Mannean and Itti of Allabria were against
 Sargon. This military alliance was defeated in c.714 BC
 and only Ullesunu was pardoned and re-installed (93).
 This letter may be related to that alliance and Nabu-
 hamatua of ABL 884;311;208 and 1058 may be one and the
 same person and presumably the deputy of Šarru-emuranni.
 The deputy of Mazamua seems to have exercised an important
 role also.

Other šanū^{were} involved in the northern frontier: ABL
 424 shows that the deputy of the rab-ālāni (as discussed
 above) was there, and ABL 1295:r.3-6, a broken letter,
 denotes that another LÚ_{2-u} LÚ GAL.URU^{MEŠ} and LÚ FN.NAM
 were concerned with Turušpa (94).

In two letters the šanū is charged with a royal
 command (abat-šarri). ABL 1214:r.4-9 (95) speaks about
 the widening of the canal at Sippar and the (re)building
 of the walls of the temple of Nergal at Kutha: 'Nergal-
 šarru-ušur, the body-guard, came with the deputy of the
 Laherean. They proclaimed the royal command. They dis-

charged *qepāni* from the temples of Sippar, Kutha, Hursagkalama (and) appointed others.' -^{I.d}U.GUR.XX
 PAB ^{LU}qurbūtu TA₂ ^{LU}2-i ša ^{LU}URUlahirāya ittalka abāt
 LUGAL izzakru ^{LU}qēpāni ša É.DINGIR^{MEŠ} ša sippar^{KI}
 GÚ.DU₈.A^{KI} hursagkalama^{KI} ^{iptattiu}(96) šaniūte iptaqdu.

A deputy from another province could be sent to exercise authority in other areas with sufficient status even to dismiss an appointed *qepūtu* for religious purposes on the king's order. A second text tells that the writer had passed the royal command to a *šanū*. It is difficult to assess the nature of this broken report, but it is concerned with the western provinces, since Isana and Našibina are mentioned⁽⁹⁷⁾.

As the deputy of the provincial-governor Kanunaya⁽⁹⁸⁾, the *šanū* seems to have acted with bitterness against Mannu-ki-Aššur his colleague, the writer of ABL 211. Mannu-ki-Aššur, the guilty party, tries to defend himself and apologizes to the king about the rumour of his disloyalty and misbehaviour towards the wife of a *tašlišu* officer and some action involving the *tašlišu* and the *mukīl appāte* ^{MEŠ} of the ^{LU}A.BA?KUR. He wrote ^{ff}1-4:
 ana LUGAL EN-ia ašpuranni^IITI^{AB}-ya ^{LU}2-u ina IGI-šu
 ussanzišāni ša adanniš aki EN damešu iddagalānni -
 'I wrote to the king, my lord, Kanunaya, the deputy, has caused me to stand before him he regards me as one who indeed would shed blood.' Mannu-ki-Aššur submits himself voluntarily, being fully convinced that the king will pass a just sentence if he had anything to do with the affair. Kanunaya and Mannu-ki-Aššur were in fact joint authors of the letter ABL 854 to the king about *dullu*-work at Nineveh, Aššur and Dur-šarrukin, which had not yet been completed. This may indicate that Mannu-ki-Aššur and Kunanaya were at least colleagues, though Mannu-ki-aššur's authority was less than that of the deputy since the latter was able to question him personally. They were, however, stationed in Kalhu, according to ABL 211:r.9: *ina UGU ša ina qabsi* ^{URU}Kalhu
ašmunī - 'Concerning what I heard in the sphere of Kalhu'

Tax-collection was another responsibility undertaken by the *šanū* as ND 2648 clearly indicates: 'To the king,

my lord, your servant Šarru-emuranni, the deputy-governor of Isana. The corn-taxes of Barruqu and Nergal-ašared, which we used to exact in the past, now Bel-aplu-iddina has driven away (our) officials.⁹⁹⁾ He then continues to explain who had received the lands. A person with this name Šarru-emuranni, the *šakin-māti* of Mazamua (eponym 712 BC as discussed above), may be identical with our deputy if we assume that this letter was dated in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II as suggested by Saggs¹⁰⁰⁾. Therefore (Ana)-bel-taklak, the *šakin-māti* of Isana (eponym 758 BC) was possibly the superior provincial-governor of Šarru-emuranni after 745 BC. If so this is the only example of promotion from *šanû* to *šakin-māti* and may also indicate a transfer of provincial-governor from one province to another. ABL 532:10-14¹⁰¹⁾ also refers to the *šanû* and tax-collection. The scribe and the *šanû* of the *bēl-pāhete* of Barhalza are involved: 'May the king ask(?) the scribe (and) the deputy of the provincial-governor of Barhalza, saying: "Why did you not give the *hamussu*-tax to Aššur?"'

The delivery of horses as taxes was also a further provincial responsibility in which the *šanû* was involved. He was the joint addressee, together with the ^{LÚ}SAG *ša*[X] in a report from ^{LÚ}GAL[X] about a record of horses¹⁰²⁾. Nabu-šumu-iddina, writer of ABL 682:E.r.1 accused the *šanû* of delaying the delivery of his horses (^{LÚ}2-ú-te la *erakūni*).

Other taxes paid in silver are found in a broken list. In this, Ilu-nadin-aplu, the deputy-governor of Haurina, ([X]MA (NA) KÙ.BABBAR *ša* ^IDINGIR.AŠ.A [^{LÚ.2-4}ša ^{URU}haurina) was listed among other officials including the *bēl-pāhete* of Haurina itself (1.i.4)¹⁰³⁾ whose deputy this *šanû* may have been.

ii.) The *šanû* 's rôle in legal transactions

The *šanû*, as the provincial-governors and their subordinate officials, occurs as seller of official or private property, as creditor, debtor and among the list of future claimants, as well as the occasional witness. As seller, the *šanû* is found:

1. *I.d*MAŠ-ya LÚ²-u ša URU d[an]āya is listed among ten officials as a seller of that village (PAP 10 LÚ^{MES}-e URU danāya EN ana gimirtešu SUMUⁿⁱ in 663 BC⁽¹⁰⁴⁾).
2. *I.d*XXX.XX.PAB LÚ²-u of Nergal-ilaya, the *hēl-pāhete* of Lahira, was the joint seller of a village called Bahaya: PAP 4 LÚ^{MES}-e FN URU tadani URU ŠE I¹bahāya adi gimirtešu É 500 gur A.ŠA² adu ŠE.NUMUN-su arši in 670 BC⁽¹⁰⁵⁾.
3. PN LÚ²-i ša URU rašappa, seller of slaves and a field-EN UN^{MES} A.ŠA².GA tadani in 672 BC⁽¹⁰⁶⁾.
4. *I*U.GUR.DU [XXX] LÚ²-u ša URU [XXX] seller of a slave - EN LÚ ta[da]-ani - (date broken)⁽¹⁰⁷⁾.
5. *I*PAP-yaqar LÚ²-u ša URU barhalza was the seller of, (property?) and an orchard in 698 BC⁽¹⁰⁸⁾. A person with this name Ahi-yaqar, seems to have owned a village near that of Bahaya (see 2), *l.12* reads: SUHUR A.ŠA² ša URU ŠE I¹PAP-yaqar, who is probably to be identified with Ahi-yaqar.

The first two contracts must be considered official rather than private sales because a) the unusual number of sellers and their official status; b) Atar-ili, the buyer of the second is described as LÚ²SAG ša DUMU LUGAL URU KA.DINGIR which denotes that the sale is an official transaction; c) Remanni-Adad is elsewhere called the *mukīl-appāte* ('royal')chariot-driver' of Ashurbanipal; d) the second contract was exempt from taxes; e) the price of the second was high - 14 mana of silver - perhaps another factor that this purchase was official unless this Atar-ili was a wealthy private individual.

As creditors, we have the following instances:

1. 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR SAG^(du) ša I¹XXX.XX PAB LÚ²-u ina IGI I¹PAP-u-SU. - '2 mana of best (quality) silver of Sin-šarru-ušur, the deputy, to Ahu-eriba', in 688 or 693 BC⁽¹⁰⁹⁾. This Sin-šarru-ušur may be identical with that of ADD 625: 3, the šanû who sold the village of Bahaya (see above 2)
2. i. 5 ANŠE ŠE.PAD^{MES} ša DUMU XX ŠU^{II} I¹taquni LÚ²-u ina IGI I¹hamatutu ša URU handuate - '5 homers of rations belonging to the crown-prince (were placed) at the disposal of Taquni the deputy, to Hamatutue of Handuate' in 682 BC⁽¹¹⁰⁾.
- ii. 3 ANŠE ina IGI I¹[yaisi] 2ANŠE 80 qa ina IGI I¹[gabbu-

DINGIR^{MES}] PAP 5 ANŠE 80 qa ŠE.[BAD^{MES}] Ša DUMU XX Ša
 [ŠU^{II}] I taquni L[U 2-u] ina IGI I ya[iš] i XX] ina IGI I gabbu-
 DINGIR^{MES} URU handuate - '3 homers of ration to (Yaisi),
 2 homers 80 qa to (Gabbu-ilani); total of 5 homers
 (and) 80 qa of rations belonging to the crown-prince
 (were placed) at the disposal of Taquni, the deputy
 to Ya[iš]i(..) (and) Gabbu-ilani (of) the city Handu-
 ate' (date broken) ⁽¹¹⁾.

3. Iahu-šina L[U 2-u] is the creditor(?) in a transaction
 involving 1 mina (text broken) ⁽¹²⁾.

The šanû was debtor, borrowing silver and animals
 from various sources:

1. Mannu-ki-ahi L[U 2-u] of Nineveh and Nabu-ašared borrowed
 10 mana of silver from Remanni-Adad, the (royal) chariot-
 driver (*mukil* ^{SU} *appāte dannu*) in 655 BC ⁽¹³⁾.
2. [X]ma'id L[U 2-u] borrowed 3 mana of silver from Remanni-
 Adad in 668 BC ⁽¹⁴⁾.
3. i. Arba'ilāya L[U 2-u] of Barhalzi together with L[U A.BA
 and the šalšu -official borrowed 10 mana of silver, 75
 sheep and one cow from Remanni-Adad in 664 BC ⁽¹⁵⁾.
 ii. Arba'ilāya L[U 2-u] and two other individuals (names
 broken) borrowed 500 sheep, 26(?) cows and 30 other
 animals from Remanni-Adad in 671 BC ⁽¹⁶⁾.
4. Ululāya L[U 2-u] and Zeruti, the *rab-kārāni bīt-ešši*
 twice borrowed 9 mana and 15 shekel from Aššur-reš-iši
 in 656 BC ⁽¹⁷⁾. A person with the same name Ululaya is
 the buyer of 10 slaves ⁽¹⁸⁾. Significantly, only the
 seller, the *bēl-pāhete* and L[U 2-u] are listed here as those
 who may not claim against the sale. Since Ululaya per-
 sonally was not listed as the buyer in this litigation-
 formula, the title šanû, listed after the *bēl-pāhete*
 must be Ululaya's title, and this implies that he was
 the provincial governor's deputy.
5. Yahudi L[U 2-u] of Raša ppa borrowed 200 ewes and 230 one-year-
 old sheep and 150 goats from Dannaya in 673 BC ⁽¹⁹⁾.

It seems rather unlikely that these contracts were
 intended for private commercial purposes, they were probably
 official business, as some of the items involved were live-
 stock, and the contracts were made between government
 officials. But the underlying reason for these transactions

remains unclear⁽¹²⁰⁾.

I have found only one instance where the provincial-governor's deputy (*śānū*) was allowed to contest a case⁽¹²¹⁾, though in several instances he acted as a witness⁽¹²²⁾.

The known deputies of the provincial-governors are listed in Fig.17.

Fig. 17 The *šanû*-official associated with provincial-
governor and/or GN

PN	GN or pr.governor	date	sources
Ahi-yaqar	Barhalza	698	ADD 468:1,5=APU 439;ADD 625:12=ARU 116; .ABL 1093:7
Ahu-šina			MD 227=GPA 97:r.5
Arba'ilaya	Barhalza	671	ADD 115:4=ARU 321=FNALD 31; ADD 121:4=ARU 226.cf ADD 116: [1,1]=ARU 320
Bidada	<i>LÚ_{EN.NAM}?</i>	660	ADD 12:r.2=ARU 274
Eriba-Adad		668	ADD 208:r.14=ARU 40
Kanunaya	Kalhu		ABL 211:r.2; 845:2
Mannu-ki-ahi	Ninua	665	ADD 35:1=ARU 262
Mušallim-ilu			ADD 694:2
Nabu-dina-amur			ADD 1188:v.1
Nabu-hamatua	<i>Šarru-emuranni, šakin- māti of Mazamua</i>		ABL 884 :r.5; 311r11; 208:2 ; 1058:6,11,14,r.3,5
Nabu-šeziḫ		673	ADD 431:r.13=ARU 98
Na'id-ilu			ADD 241:1,7,9=ARU 73
Nergal-ibni	Ninua	?	ADD 177:12=ARU 183
Ninurtaya		663	ADD 470:1=ARU 168
Pihame	<i>Aššur-alik-pani, bēl-pāhete of Barhalza</i>	Abp.	ABL 784:5 cf 787:6
Sin-šarru-ušur	<i>Nergal-ilaya, bēl-pāhete of Lahira</i>		ADD 625:3=ARU 116;32:1-3; =ARU 245
Šarru-emuranni	Isana	745- 712	ND 2648; Iraq XXVII,21-23; TCAE 385-387
Taquni		682	ADD 129:3 =ARU 313 ;130:5 =ARU 327
Ulullaya		656	ADD 48:2 =ARU 298;49:5 =ARU 297; ADD 230:5 =ARU 60
Ya'iru		Sg. II	ABL 414:20
Yahudi	Rašappa	673	ADD 118:1=ARU 315

Fig.17 continued

PN	GN or provincial gov.	date	sources
[/] LU _~ samû	Haban	714-705	ABL 884:r.11
"	Kar-Šamaš		ABL 207:9
"	Lahiraya		ABL 1214:r.5
"	Der?		ABL 430:2
"	Maganubu	?	ADD 422:r.11=ARU 103
"	bēl-pāhete		CT LIII,921:9
"	bēl-pāhete of Barhalza		ABL 532 :r.11; TCAE,280-1
"	bēl-pāhete of Haurina		ADD 922:i,5-6 cf Fig.:3
"	bēl-pāhete of Kalhu		ADD 1141:55=ARU 113
"	rab-ālāni		ABL 1295:r.6;ABL 207:9
"	"		ABL 424:r.5

Notes to Chapter III

1. MSL 3,139:122.
2. MSL 3,145:259; VAT 1027:v,9.
3. VAT 10270:v,10.
4. ADD 176:16; 269:6; 322:r.10; 923:3; 961:3; 961:5; ABL 252:8;
424:r.5; 506:r.5; 767:r.1; 784:15; 1008:8; ND 264 = GPA 35:9;
430 = 127:4; 203 = 15:11; 219 = 95:22; 427 = 128:11
5. SST 382-385:v,r.5.
6. Transliteration and discussion see p. 23²³⁹. It is worth noting that
ADD 301:1-2 = ARU 535, collat., should be read ^{NA}4.KIŠI]B I DUMU.
UŠ.U.a LU GAL.URU [MFŠ] [ša URU] la-hi-ra ša F.AMA XX cf H.Lewy,
JNES XI (1952) 274,n.50). ADD 261:r.7 = ARU 87 appears un-
likely to restore it as LU GAL URU since the signs are completely
erased and Nabu-šarra(ni), the holder of this title, is so far
not found any where else. Cf. ND 273=GPA 135:4-5.
7. See Fig.16.
8. ABL 414:21; 778:r.10; CT, LIII,40:15; and in broken context ABL 437
:r.2 See NWL 16; cf LU EN.URU MES^{*}-te (amēl bēl-ālānāte) AKA 375:
iii,93; ARI II 587.
9. cf H.W.F. Saggs, op.cit.n.52(I), pp. 141-143 Iraq XXVIII(1968)180,n.to line,
4
10. ARI II n.387.
11. Senn.32:iii,19-20.
12. Sg.II.8:i,89.
13. cf TCAE 32-33.
14. J.J.Finkelstein, JCS VII (1953) No.61-66.
15. Loc.cit. No 48-49.
16. Loc.cit. p.118.
17. KAJ 107 = 117; 319.
18. Ep. 118.
19. KAJ 188 = MAOG VII .52-53; KAJ 280 (MAOG VII .40).
E.Weidner, AfO X (1935-36) 39,45.
20. KAJ 193 (MAOG VII 36).

21. See Fig4:6; 10:9
22. NARGD Nos.27;28, cf E.Weidner, Die Inschriften von Tell Halaf (Berlin 1940) 10. n.32.
23. see Fig.13:49.
24. see Fig.13:121. A similar subordination is found in an NB contract where $I\check{s}a-d\hat{n}ab\hat{u}-\check{s}u$ $L\check{U}GAL.URU^{ME\check{s}}$ $\check{s}a$ $L\check{U}GAR.KUR\langle DUR\rangle\check{s}arru-ukk\check{a}ya$ occurs as a witness. E.Weidner, AFO XVI (1952/53) 42, No. 9-11 (Date 20. year of Kandalanu).
25. E.Weidner, *ibid.* No.1:1.
26. Weidner, *ibid.* No.22:5-7.
27. B.Parker, Iraq XXV (1963) 99. 136:1-2 cf 92, 103:1-2.
28. for *qānru* see p.16
29. cf. Saggs, *op.cit.* n.52(I), 107; NWL 16.
30. B.Parker, Iraq XXIII (1961) 46.
31. ABL 767:7-16, r.1 cf MA pp.224- 225
32. ABL 778:10;784:14.
33. He is also the writer of ABL 779 and cf.428.
34. ADD 854:13, see p103f and Fig.8:12.
35. ADD 231:1-10 = ARU 202.
36. ADD 278:1-8 = ARU 531.
37. H.Lewy, JNES XI (1952) 264-286, cf J.Nougayrol, Syria XXXIII(1956) 156-160.
38. ADD 301:1-3 = ARU 535, see p.118; 227.
39. ABL 754=SKT.II⁵⁵/see p133f. cf ABL^{325:2j}/1106:11;1124:6; 226:18; 998:14.r6.
40. ADD 447:1-4 = ARU 61.
41. cf Lewy, *loc.cit.* 274, n.52.
42. ND 2605:11-12 (B.Parker, Iraq XXIII(1961) 36-37).
43. Senn.41-42:v, 20-22.
44. Asarh.47:58-64 (NIN A.II Episode 4); 32-39 (NIN.B.II.Episode 4) 48, K 8542:6-11(Episode 4); 111: 573 (F.t.c).
45. ADD 59:14-16 = ARU 123.

46. 10 MA(NA) I.d¹XXX.XX.PAB LU¹IR ša I.d¹PA.XX.PAP LU¹FN.NAM 2 GU¹
I.d¹.NURU-be/bad-da A.BA ša LU¹hazanni URU¹NINU 1 BAN I¹šil-
d¹IM LU¹2-i 20 MA(NA) I¹padī GAL.URU¹MES (ADD 814:1,12-17; cf
ii,2-3 I¹15 .KÁ.DU GAL.URU¹MES.
47. ADD 180:4-5 = ARU 495 Cf ADD 492:3,11 = ARU 432; ADD 497:3 =
ARU 497:3 = ARU 616.
48. ND 2605:17-18 (Iraq XXIII,36)
ADD 491:1-2 = ARU 58.
49. A person with this name seems to have had commercial business
during 704-682 BC. As creditor see ADD 29:2 = ARU 279; 31:3 =
280; 131:2 = 323; 132:2 = 311; 133:2=307; 134:5=308; 136:r.1=
312; 139:2=316; 141:3=304; 142:2=310;143:2=332;149:2=309;720:
8=329;792:1=239. As buyer ADD 176:5=ARU 630;337:6=178. As
witness ADD 292:r.4=ARU 524.
50. ABL 424:r.5 see p.232
51. ADD 58:11 = ARU 150.
52. It is worth noting that Akkadian *kapru*= *kafru* 'village' in the
Palestinian and Egyptian dialect.
53. see discussion of NA provincial divisions in pp. 16-18.
54. NL 35, H.WFSaggs, Iraq XVIII(1956) 50-51; GTWB 248 cf NWL 16-17.
55. NL 36, Saggs, *ibid.*, 51-52.
56. He is the author of NL 11,36;81,91; presumably to the same king
(i.e. Tiglath-pileser III).
57. ABL 431; 506-510.
58. Line r.9: The verb derives from **nadanu*, *i-ta-an-nu* <*ittadnu*><*intadnu*
59. cf ADD 960,iii:11-15 when Tuti the *rab-ālāni* is involved
in similar deliveries.
60. For references see M.Falkner, Afo XVIII(1957/8) 101.
61. Cf p. 227.
62. ND 445 = GPA 125:1-8.
63. ND 430 = GPA 127:4, ; see Fig.3:16

64. ND 427 = GPA 128:10-11. see Fig.3:32,33 and p.113
65. D.J.Wiseman, Iraq XIII(1951) 103-104
66. cf MA sources in Tell-Billa (Šibaniba) & p.224
67. GPA 209
68. ABL 424, see n.51 above
69. see Fig,13:84
70. ABL 1295, see also p. 130 f
71. The word *emuttu* derives from **emu* 'father-in-law', the expression *etarbu emuttu* is possibly an idiomatic phrase meaning 'to become relatives/friends' - *idūkūni* -3.Pers.Pl. subjunctive from *dāku*.
72. H.W.F.Saggs, Iraq XXVIII (1966) 178-181 (NL 85).
73. TCAE 28-39; JESHO XVII (1974) 235ff
74. ADB 3:viii, 10-21, cf.F.M.Fales, Censimenti e Catasti de Epoca Neo-Assiria (Rome 1973) 32-33; TCAE 32-33
75. ADD 301:1-2 = ARU,535 ; 491:1-2 = 58; 447:1,10 = 61; 126:1,5 = 638
76. ND 203=GPA 15:11,22; ND 242= GPA 7:6; ND 478 = GPA 8:6; ND 474 = GPA 9:3,9; ND 264 = GPA 39:9; ADD 180:4;13 = ARU495;492:3,11 = ARU 432; 497:3 = ARU 616; 231:7-8 = ARU 202
77. An exception is ND 227 = GPA 97:r.5, which Postgate dates to the first half of the eighth century (GPA p.125)
78. MSL XII, v,2
79. ND 227 = GPA 97:r.5 (as n.1 above)
80. ADD 48:r.2 = ARU 298; 49:5 = ARU 297; 121:4 = ARU 226; 208:r.14 = ARU 40; 241:1 = ARU 73; 285:r.6 = ARU 530; cf 56:r.4 = ARU 639; 65:6 = ARU 141; 157:6 = ARU 664; 583:r.4 = ARU 597 ; 592:r.5 = ARU 184

81.

For example:

1. ^IPA.NUMUN.DU.GIS ^{LU}hazannu ^{LU}2-u ^{sa} NINA^{KI}

was the judge in a case of a stolen ox. (ADD 160: 8-9 = ARU 657)

2. ^Ibanba ^{LU}SUKKAL ^{LU}2-e was the eponym dating a legal transaction in 676 BC (ADD 170:E.2-3 = ARU 203; 256: r.11-12 = ARU 536; 330:17-18 = ARU 195; RLA II 426-427.)3. ^{LU}EN.NAM ^{sa} pūtūni ^{LU}EN.NAM 2-u issīsu is mentioned in a report from Nashur-bel, šakin-mātiof Amedi to Sargon concerning the Urartians. (ABL 424:9-11). For discussion of this letter see p. and n. above.4. ^Inaga ^{LU}GAL-kišir ^{sa} -ne-e occurs in a broken letter (ABL 639:3-4 = LAS 140, v.Soden, Festschrift Christian 104; ZA XLIII, 247).5. ^IUrsine ^{LU}turtānu 2-u was captured in Turuspa according to a report from Assur-resua to Sargon. (ABL 144:13-15). It is worth noting that there are other types of turtānu i.e. ^{LU}turtānu imitti ^{LU}turtānu sumēli (MSL XII, 238, i, 1f). See TCAE 309:i, 4f; ABL 649:4; ADD 308:r.7 = ARU 57; 1070:2.)6. A ^{LU}MAH 2-e is mentioned in a report from Istar-sum-iqisa to the king concerning border transactions. (ABL 205:r.4-5). For a discussion cf p. . These examples represent one element of the title; i.e. the second - X. This may be supported by the fact that Nineveh itself had two contemporary hazannu mentioned in one text as witnesses. (ADD 260:r.5-6 = ARU 87.)

ABL 205:r.4-5 For a discussion see p.130f and n. 210(II)

ADD 260:r.5-6 = ARU 87; cf ADD II 159

82.

ABL 207:5-7 URU.TAH.URU may be a scribal writing like URU.^{VA}SA.URU. Aššur-bašti-ekurri, the writer, is not known as a provincial-governor. After the Sargonic period a person with this name is mentioned in ABL 966:r.10

83.

For Šupite see ABL 953; CT LIII, 10; 199

84.

A.Alt, 'Neuassyrische Nachrichten über Palästina und Syrien', ZDPV LXVII (1945) 153-159. Cf. I. Eph'al, IEJ, XI (1971) 156-157, who also proposed to locate Sazana somewhere south of the Baqa'-valley,

according to two letters found in Kamid-el-loz and published by Edzard (D.O.Edzard, et.al., Kamid-el-loz-Kumidi, Schriftdokumente aus Kamid-el-loz (Bonn 1970) 55-62.

85. ABL 382 Cf ^{LU}*raksu* ^{MES}*LU*_{2-u} *ša* ^{LU}*GAL* *mūgi* *PAP-šū*
dannu ussešibi - 'The deputy of the *raḥ-mūgi* appointed his elder brother to a post as a *raksu* (ABL 154: 14-16, TCAE 258). See Deller, Or. XXXI, 187; XXXIV, 265
86. Further discussion about Aššur-rešua and his activity there is found on p.127-132. See also p.125 and n.194(II).
87. ^{LAS 275}
 ABL 746:1-2; cf ABL 430:1-2; ADD 470 = ARU 168.
88. See Fig.13;117.
89. ABL 208:6-10.
90. For Sargon and the Medes, see J.N.Postgate, Iraq XXXV (1973) 13-36.
91. ABL 1058:6-16;r.1-8. cf Deller, Or. XXXIV, 260f
92. Sg.II II 5:6-12, Sg.II I 12-14:58-63.
93. Sg.II II 5:11-12, Sg.II I 14:62-63.
94. cf ABL 1070, a broken letter concerning a military expedition. The *šanû* involved is mentioned in l.r.13.
95. LAS 291.
96. *uptažžiu*, Dt.3rd.Pl. **petû* 'to uncover, to discharge' (AHW 861a).
97. ABL 585.
98. This name should be read *kanunaya*, not *tebetaya*, due to the syllable writing in ^{*kanun*-lists} (RLA II 2128-9).
99. Translation of this text follows H.W.F.Saggs, Iraq XXVII (1965) 21-23 (NL 74) and TCAE 385-387; 37;137.
100. H.F.W.Saggs, Iraq XVII(1955) 126.
101. TCAE 280-1. This letter has been discussed in p.111 cf ABL 42, where a deputy (*šanû*) is accused of failure to provide a temple-offering by the writer of this letter.
102. ABL 623.

103. ADD 922:i,5-6 See Fig.3;26.
104. ADD 470:1 = ARU 168.
105. ADD 625:3 = ARU 116. He also appears as a creditor
in ADD 32:2, see p.243
106. ADD 64:1-3 = ARU 152.
107. ADD 177:1-3 = ARU 183.
108. ADD 468:1-5 = ARU 439 cf ABL 1093:7.
109. ADD 32:1-3 = ARU 245. For *SAG*^{MEŠ} (*rešet*) see TCAE 281.
110. ADD 129:1-5 = ARU 313.
111. ADD 130:1-10 = ARU 327.
112. ND 227 = GPA 97:5.
113. ADD 35:1-5 = ARU 262.
114. ADD 65:1-4 = ARU 141.
115. ADD 115:1-4 = ARU 321 = FNALD 31.
116. ADD 121:1-4 = ARU 226.
117. ADD 48:1-9 = ARU 298; ADD 49:1-6 = ARU 297.
118. ADD 230:5 = ARU 60.
119. ADD 118: 1,5 = ARU 315.
120. cf FNALD p140
121. see p.228
122. ADD 431:r.13 = ARU 98; 477:r.1 = ARU 625; 208:r.14
= ARU 40.

CONCLUSIONS

The main aspects and conclusions can be summarised :

1. The Akkadian term for 'province' — *pīhatu(m)* (NA *pāhutu*) is here examined and defined together with terms denoting its subdivisions especially *nagû*, *qannu* and *URU.ŠF* (Chapter I.1.2)
2. Significant phrases in the Royal Annals (e.g. *mišir mā-tīya urappišma*; *māt gabbisa pā išten ušaškin*; and *ana mišir mātātīya uraddi/utirra*) are shown to mark specific stages of expansion and the consolidation of central control beyond the Assyrian Homeland (Chapter I.4).
3. The method of controlling newly conquered territories is shown to be initially by the setting up of a local native as ruler and imposing taxes and tributes upon him as the representative. Sometimes this was perpetuated under royal pardon even after rebellion. It is not, however, always possible from the cuneiform sources to indicate the precise means of control by Assyria (Chapter I.5).
4. Evidence is produced for the instances where local governors sought to maintain their independence even after their appointment as governors (Chapter I.6).
5. Following periods of weakness in centralized Assyrian control, it is shown here that the principal method of provincial administration introduced by Tiglath-pileser III in his reforms was the appointment of an Assyrian as governor over any newly acquired territory (*LÚ šūt-rēšīya LÚ hēl-pāhete elišunu aškun/apqid*). This act is shown to be in itself an indication that the territory in question became an Assyrian province (Chapter I.5.v).

6. The occurrences of *hēl-pāhete* (^{LÚ}EN.NAM) and *šakin-māti* (^{LÚ}GAR.KUR) are examined for the first time in detail in turn. This shows a consistency in practice throughout the Middle Assyrian, Middle-Babylonian, Post-Kassite and Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian 'Empire'. *hēl-pāhete* and *šakin-māti* are shown to undertake similar administrative functions and to be equally terms for 'provincial governor'. Evidence for the use of the latter title and its unique occurrences for special purposes in *limmu*-lists and stelae are given. Some *šakin-mātis* inherited their offices which they held for the lifetime. This title alone was applied to the province of Assur even when it was used without any place name. *hēl-pāhete*, however, denoting the administrative provincial governor, is the only term used in the formulae employed in legal transactions (Chapter II).
7. The interrelationship between the *hēl-pāhete*, the *šakin-māti* and *šaknu* (GAR-nu), their rôles, some of the commonly proposed solutions, as well as the usage of these terms in the royal annals and correspondence, stelae, *limmu*-lists and legal documents are discussed in Chapter II.
8. The *rab-ālāni*, 'village-inspector', is shown to work under the supervision of *hēl-pāhete* or *šakin-māti*. Some of this class (i.e. *rab-ālāni*) were promoted to these higher ranks in the same province. Since no royal correspondence from a *rab-ālāni* has been recovered, it is argued that they must have relied for communication on close personal contact with their supervisors (Chapter III.i).
9. The *šanû* 'deputy', is discussed only in relation to their higher officials in the provincial administration on whose orders they are shown to have acted (Chapter III.ii).

10. Full lists of all the provincial governors and the subordinate administrative officials under them are given after each relevant chapter as a record and as aid to further research.

The aim of this thesis is to make an examination in depth of a significant, if not always well attested, aspect of the Neo-Assyrian provincial administration and thus to offer a contribution to the studies of the civilization of Mesopotamia.

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